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HISTORY

OF THE

RISE OF THE MAHOMEDAN POWER

IN

INDIA,

TILL THE YEAR A.D. 1612.

TRANSLATED FROM THE

ORIGINAL PERSIAN OF MAHOMED KASIM FERISHTA,

BY

JOHN BRIGGS, M.R.A.S.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE MADRAS ARMY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST,

BY THE KINGS OF HYDRABAD,

OF THOSE PARTS OF THE MADRAS PROVINCES DENOMINATED

THE CEDED DISTRICTS AND

NORTHERN CIRCARS.

FC 4,1167

WITH COPIOUS NOTES

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

THE HONOURABLE

THE CHAIRMAN,

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN,

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS,

OF

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY;

THIS WORK,

THE LABOUR OF NEARLY TWENTY YEARS,

IS,

WITH THEIR PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE causes which led to the publication of this work require some explanation, both because portions of Ferishta have already appeared in English and because the circumstances which gave rise to the present translation did not originate in a desire to supersede the former versions. Several years ago Sir James Mackintosh, then President of the Literary Society of Bombay, with that zeal for the diffusion of knowledge which has ever marked his character, urged me to translate the portion of Ferishta's history which had not yet been touched upon by Europeans. I promised to do so if, on commencing the task, I found myself equal to it; and I trust when this work meets his eye he will think that I have fairly fulfilled my engagement.

My professional duties, for some time, prevented my attending to his suggestion, though it was not lost upon me; for in less than one year a considerable part of one of the minor histories was translated; and in two more the task assigned me was completed. During this interval I had com-

pared several authors contemporary with Ferishta, both in the languages of Asia and of Europe, and I then first conceived the idea of writing a complete work on the Mahomedan Power in India, compiled from the various materials to which I might hereafter obtain access. Having resolved to take Ferishta as my basis, I found it requisite to study him very closely; but on examining Colonel Dow's translation of the History of the Kings of Dehly, I found it so difficult to follow the narrative, owing to the confusion in the proper names of persons and of places, that I had to consult the original throughout, and my notes and alterations alone made nearly a volume. In these observations, it is by no means my wish to detract from the merit justly due to Colonel Dow. It was impossible that he should correct the geographical errors which existed, perhaps, even in his original manuscript, when there were no maps of the country; and it was difficult for him to attain sufficient proficiency in the language of the text to give full force to the narrative of the author at a period when no elementary works in Persian had yet been published. But to Colonel Dow the world is much indebted for bringing even a portion of Ferishta to light, and for exciting in the mind of every person who reads his translation a wish to become better acquainted with the author. Upon the whole, therefore, great praise is due to Colonel Dow, and his name will be handed down to posterity with respect, as one of the earliest and most indefa-

tigable of our Oriental scholars. Instead of confining himself, however, to mere translation, he has filled his work with his own observations, which have been so embodied in the text, that Gibbon declares it impossible to distinguish the translator from the original author; and which in some cases so plainly indicated the hand of a modern European writer, that Dr. Johnson and Mr. Burke were justified in doubting it to be the work of a Mahomedan of the sixteenth century, till Mr. Orme procured part of Ferishta's history to be translated in London, and compared it with Colonel Dow's. Having proceeded thus far in my labours, I resolved to examine the translation made by Dr. Jonathan Scott of the History of the Kings of Koolburga, Beejapoor, and Ahmudnuggur. This comparison soon convinced me how much that accomplished Orientalist had surpassed all former translators; and I found little to alter, with the exception of a few proper names, which a more thorough acquaintance with the geography and language of the Deccan enabled me to correct. Dr. Scott's copy of Ferishta appears, however, to have been occasionally defective; though had he translated the whole instead of a small portion of it, the present attempt might have been unnecessary. Before the end of the year 1815 I had thus completed the translation of the whole work, with copious notes. I had besides collated a great part of an original manuscript in my possession, with several other copies, carefully examining it

with maps; and I also continued to pursue with ardour my labours for procuring materials for an original history. The ready access afforded by Mr. Russell the resident at Hydrabad, by Mr. Elphinstone the resident at Poona, and by Mr. Wm. Erskine of Bombay, to their European and Oriental libraries, as well as to those of all the learned natives with whom they had any acquaintance or influence, entitles them to my grateful thanks. My researches had enabled me to fill eleven folio volumes of manuscript, partly translations, and partly notes, for my general history, which was in a state of forwardness, when an event occurred that led to the publication of this translation alone.

The war which broke out in India in 1817 rendered it necessary for me to accompany the army that marched to Malwa. I left my library and manuscripts at Poona, with the exception of the translation of Ferishta, which had been sent to Mr. William Erskine at Bombay. On the 5th of November, 1817, the Peshwa attacked the Poona residency, driving before his troops the members of the resident's establishment, among whom were several English ladies and their children; and after sacking the place, the troops set fire to the houses, and burned them with their contents. My own family had the good fortune to escape with their lives; but the whole of my property of every description, including my library, together with my manuscripts, the labour of so many years, was lost or destroyed. After an

absence of fifteen months, I revisited Poona at the end of the war, for a few days only, and I then purchased two of my English manuscripts, which are all that I was ever able to obtain. I also procured one copy of Ferishta in Persian, which contained several valuable annotations and corrections. This copy has since been carefully collated with several others, and a new and correct edition was left by me at Bombay in 1827, in order to be printed. My intention of compiling the Mahomedan history is, therefore, now at an end; but as I was in possession of a correct translation of Ferishta from a very good copy of the original, I felt that it contained sufficiently interesting matter to admit of a separate publication; and thus I offer it to the world, although it is, in truth, only a small part of a mass of historical matter that can never be recovered.

After a rapid and imperfect account of Hindoo history previously to the Mahomedan invasion, Ferishta gives a sketch of the conquests of the early Arabians in Persia, their progress into Chorasmia, and their settlements in the north-eastern parts of Iran. The detailed portion of his history commences in the year 977, with the origin of the dynasty of Ghizny. It was then the Mahomedans first came in contact with the Hindoos; but no permanent establishment east of the Indus took place for half a century, and shortly after the Indians, with the exception of those in the Punjab, shook off the Mahomedan yoke. In the year

1191 they again became subject to the attacks of the Moslems, who in 1206 founded the kingdom of Dehly. Nearly a century elapsed in rendering this power stable, when in 1294 the first Mahomedan soldier ventured to cross the Nurbudda, and a small army invaded the Deccan. At this period the Dehly kingdom had attained its zenith, under the rule of its first conquerors; and not only successfully resisted all the efforts of Chungiz Khan to subdue it, but even afforded an honourable retreat to thirteen kings of Eastern Asia, which had been expelled from their thrones. But Dehly was doomed to witness a downfall more sudden than its elevation.

Seven dynasties had passed away in three centuries; and the last had sunk to a low ebb when Tamerlane invaded India in the year 1400. This warlike chief, however, found so little to induce him to retain the conquest, that after having sacked the country, and committed unheard-of cruelties and ravages, he abandoned it, without leaving one soldier behind to entitle him to consider it as part of his vast dominions. During the ensuing century three more dynasties reigned in Dehly; and the imbecility of the house of Lody enabled Babur at the head of twelve thousand men to subdue the empire in 1526, and to establish the house of the Great Mogul, a member of which family still occupies the shadow of a throne, that once belonged to one of the most powerful monarchies in the universe.

Previously to the conquest by Babur, several

Mahomedan governors of provinces had raised themselves into independent kingdoms, which they continued to rule till a few years before Ferishta wrote his work in 1612. Nearly about that period most of them had become gradually subjugated by Akbur to the parent empire; and his descendant Aurungzeeb could make it his boast, that in his reign only one Mahomedan sovereign issued his mandates throughout all India.

Besides the Dehly history, therefore, the author has had occasion to detail the events occurring throughout thirteen independent kingdoms, which existed for the greater portion of two centuries; in so doing he has given their origin, the rise and extent of their power, their internal administration and policy, and, lastly, the dissolution of all those whose end he lived to witness.

Such is the outline of Ferishta's labours. When we reflect on the extensive regions over which the historian passes; the numerous races of Arabs, Persians, Toorks, and Afghäns, with their peculiarities of language, religion, and tribes; when to these are added the innumerable subdivisions of the Hindoo races, with their several tongues, habits, and customs, it will be acknowledged that it is no easy task to enter fully into the details, and to become familiar with the several new proper names which occur in every page. If to this be added the difficulty of tracing the movements of numerous armies of many different kingdoms, marching and countermarching over a region as

extensive as Europe, we shall not be surprised to find errors in the various copies of Ferishta which at present exist.

It could not be expected that in the absence of the art of printing such a work should be correctly transmitted for any length of time. The mere copyist is a person whose principal duty is to write a fair hand; to acquire which forms the whole business of his life. The method and precision that are necessary in this occupation are for the most part obtained by sedentary habits. The transcriber despairs of becoming a scholar, and his avocation prevents his being a traveller; yet who but a traveller and a scholar, in countries where maps are unknown, can be acquainted with the various proper names of persons and tribes pervading a work of this nature, or with the correct titles and positions of places which occur throughout?

Of all the languages in the world, the Persian character is, perhaps, the most difficult to decipher with accuracy, and the most liable to orthographical errors. In writing it, the diacritical points, by which alone any thing like certainty is attainable, are frequently omitted; and in an alphabet, where a dot above a letter is negative, and one below the same letter is positive, who shall venture to decide, in an obscure passage, which is correct? or how is it possible that a person unacquainted with the true orthography of proper names can render a faithful transcript of a

carelessly written original? These obstacles occur in every page of Ferishta; and unlike a work of fancy or taste, the reader of history is rigidly bound to adhere to the letter of the text. It would be useless and unprofitable to enumerate all the difficulties that arise in attempting to collate a work of this nature, for I am persuaded that such a task can only be properly accomplished by some public institution. Fortunately the person who was my first assistant in 1812 remained with me till I left India in 1827, and his whole life had been devoted to the study of Indian history. At my request, he travelled for several years successively throughout the Deccan, and made copies of every Persian inscription on stone to be found in all the towns of note in that country. These inscriptions have been chiefly useful in determining dates, whether of persons deceased or of buildings erected; and the result of his labours enabled me to add marginal notes to the original. In addition, a glossary of obsolete words found in Ferishta has been formed, and appended to the Persian text. The individual to whom I feel myself bound to say I owe so much is Meer Kheirat Ally Khan, commonly called Mooshtak, a person of good family in Akburabad (Agra), and who is at present the Persian secretary, or moonshy, at the residency at Satara.

It has been observed by Dr. Spelman, in his translation of Xenophon, "that there is not a more "difficult, a more discouraging, (but he adds) or a

"more useful task than that of a translator;" and Pope, in the preface to his Iliad, remarks, "that "there have not been more men misled in former "times by a servile, dull adherence to the letter, "than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical, "insolent hope of raising and improving their "author." It has been my wish to avoid both these errors by giving Ferishta to the public in the very words he would probably have used, had he, as a native of the East, written in English.

I have ventured to make no alterations, but have endeavoured to render obscure passages clear, by explanatory notes. In some places I have omitted the poetry that occasionally intervenes, as it seems rather to clog than elucidate the subject; and the chapter on the Saints, which has no relation to the history, has been altogether excluded. In the arrangement of the work I have followed the order of the original, which appears to have been modelled with great good sense and correct taste, and it seems to me preferable to that adopted in the History of modern Europe by Russell. Had Ferishta preserved in mere chronological succession the events of the several different monarchies, and represented them in the order they occurred, it would have been extremely difficult to follow the thread of the entire history. He has, therefore, given the account of every kingdom separately, and has a chapter for each complete in itself. By way of convenience to those who peruse the translation, I have affixed at the beginning of every dynasty

a short genealogical table of each royal family, which makes it easy for the reader to refresh his memory, at any period of the history, with the relation the several princes of the blood bear to one another. This idea suggested itself to me many years ago in studying the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster, and I have since usually adopted the plan in the perusal of other histories. In addition to this aid, a chronological synopsis of the events which were simultaneously occurring in Europe and in India is also appended.

In the third volume, instead of a recapitulation of the events of Europe, I have added an abstract of the Portuguese annals in Asia, from Faria-é-Souza, as belonging to the period and the histories of the kingdoms with which the Europeans came in contact in the sixteenth century. To prevent, as much as possible, the confusion which would otherwise have occurred, from princes bearing the same name being engaged in war with each other (as is sometimes the case even in European history), I have been careful to preserve to each family some distinguishing appellation. Thus, for instance, in the first volume, the kings of Ghizny bear the title of Sooltan, which was bestowed on Mahmood the Great by the Caliph of Bagdad. The several other dynasties or families of Ghoory, Eibuk, Altmish, Bulbun, Khiljy, Toghluk, Syud, and Lody, have their fixed designation, and cannot well be confounded. In the second volume, the title of Padshah, assumed by Babur, belongs exclu-

sively to the whole race of the Great Mogul. The intermediate Afghan family has its peculiar name of Soor, while the first dynasty of the kings of the Deccan is entitled Bahmuny. In the third volume will be found the kings of the minor Deccany monarchies, with their especial affixes of Adil Shah of Beejapoor, Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, Kootb Shah of Golconda or Hydrabad, Imad Shah of Berar, and Bereed Shah of Bidur. Ferishta laments that he was unable to procure any history of the kings of Golconda or Hydrabad; but begs if such a work should ever appear, that it may be included in his. This deficiency I have been able to supply, and it is added as an appendix in the body of the third volume. In the fourth volume, the title of Shah is affixed to denote the kings of Guzerat, while that of Sooltan is prefixed to distinguish those of Malwa. The Kandeish princes of the race of Farook were content to assume the title of Khan, and may be thus known. The Jam dynasty of Sind, the Lunga family of Mooltan, and the Chuk race of Kashmeer, has each its peculiar denomination; while the titles of Shurky and Poorby serve to mark the kings of Joonpoor and Bengal.

The perusal of this history cannot be otherwise than instructive, if it be merely to show the certain effects of good and bad government among a people whom our ignorance disposes us to consider as devoid of moral energy, and who are prone to submit without resistance to the grossest oppression. It is not my intention to dilate on the origin of this

misconception of the Indian character, and a volume would not suffice to point out all the instances to the contrary with which the work abounds. The rapid success of Akbur in subjugating the greater portion of India, by a policy which elevated all classes of his subjects, whether newly subdued or otherwise, and of whatever creed or country, to the level to which their rank in society entitled them; and the rapid downfall of the government of Aurungzeeb, who oppressed the Hindoo population by a poll-tax, and by disqualifications from public employ, are the most striking which occur in the Mahomedan history. The early success of the Portuguese under Albuquerque and Nuno de Cunha may be chiefly ascribed to the confidence they reposed in the natives; and the decline of their power may be dated from the time when, under the name of religion, they persecuted them on account of their national tenets. These events form prominent land-marks in history which our own rulers seem prudently to have avoided.

It was the wisdom, or, perhaps, the good fortune, of the ruling administration in England, to select such governors as Clive and Hastings, in the early part of our Eastern career, who formed the groundwork of our gigantic dominion in the East; and it is to the great men who have subsequently ruled those possessions that they owe their present prosperity.

This is not the place to discuss a question of such magnitude. The present form of administration

has arisen out of circumstances foreign to the objects contemplated in the original institution of the commercial body which now presides over it, but it stands pre-eminent among all the political phenomena in the annals of history. To appreciate this engine of government fully, it is necessary, not only to view it as a whole, but to observe the course of its action; and the more it is examined, the more one is struck with the magnitude of its power, and the energy and efficiency of its operation. It is a subject for deep speculation, how, if it were removed, its place could be supplied; but we may, I think, pronounce with confidence, that whosoever shall venture to do so, either by changing its constitution, or even by violently disturbing its motion, will incur the risk of involving in ruin the British power in India.

No part of the arrangement of the work has given me more perplexity than the adoption of some uniform plan for the orthography of Oriental words. In writing for the English public, I preferred adapting the letters to the familiar pronunciation of our own language rather than to those of the continent of Europe; and my object has been to confine the power of each letter or diphthong to one simple sound, in whatever situation it be placed.

Thus the vowels are pronounced: —

a as in *water, wall, ball.*
e as in *met, bell, level.*

i as in *bit, hill, lip.*
o as in *hold, bold.*
u as in *but, must.*
y as in *truly.* — Where this letter is placed at the beginning or middle of a word it is sounded as in *youth, joyous.*

The following diphthongs and double letters are used to supply the varied sounds of some of the vowels: —

ee as in *fleet, feel, seem.*
oo as in *school, tool.*
ou as in *our, hour, flour.*
ei as in *sleight, height.*

Of the consonants, the letter *c* is never used except in conjunction with *h*, when the two letters have the same sound as in *church.* The Persian letter خ is expressed by the letters *kh*, which combined, have the sound of *ch* in the Scotch word *loch*, a lake. The letter غ is written with the letters *gh*, representing a guttural *g*, which is foreign to any of the western languages. The rest of the consonants have the same sound as in English. For the use of the Oriental scholar an appendix is added, containing all the proper names in the Persian character, with the meaning, as far as was practicable, to each name. These orthographical rules have been applied to the proper names of persons and things, but not always to those of towns or countries, which are written as

they are usually to be found in maps; and a table of latitudes and longitudes for those places whose positions have been ascertained is appended, though I regret it is not more complete.

The notes which have been added are the result either of personal observation or of information obtained for the purpose. In these the name of my friend Colonel Tod frequently appears, and to him I am much indebted for his unreserved communications on all points connected with the history and geography of Rajpoothana and northern India. My thanks are also due to Mr. Henry Ellis, the author of Lord Amherst's Embassy to China; and to Mr. De Morgan, Mathematical Professor in the University of London, for their uniform kindness in rendering me assistance and advice on all occasions.

In preparing the indices to the last volume, I received much aid from Mr. J. Mitchell, Dr. Rosen, the Professor of Oriental Literature in the University of London, and Dr. Bernard Dorn; and I take this opportunity to return my thanks to these gentlemen for their assistance.

After what has been said in the early part of this preface, I trust I shall be exculpated from the charge of endeavouring to supersede the former translations from any notion of my superior fitness to undertake the task. I have shown that I originally entertained no such idea; nor would this work have been brought forward in its present shape had not the circumstances which oc-

curred at Poona deprived me of the labours of many years' study and anxiety, and left this sole wreck behind. The chief merits of a translator seem to me to consist in faithfully rendering the sentiments of the author into the language of the translation free alike from the crudities of foreign idioms, from the verbosity and terseness which belong to some tongues, and from affectation. How far I have succeeded in following these rules, I leave the public to determine.

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CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF LAHORE, BETTER KNOWN BY THE TITLE OF GHIZNIVIDES.

AMEER NASIR-OOD-DEEN SUBOOKTUGEEN.

Nasir-ood-Deen Subooktugeen, ruler of Ghizny, a dependency of the kingdom of Bokhara, governed by the dynasty of Samany. Subooktugeen makes war with Jeipal, Raja of the Punjab. Peace concluded. Jeipal imprisons the Moslem ambassadors. War renewed. Battle of Lumghan, in which the Hindoos are defeated and pursued to the Indus. Death of Abool Munsoor Sumany, King of Bokhara. His son Nooh ascends the throne. Fâïk, one of his generals, creates a revolt. Subooktugeen unites with the King of Bokhara to oppose him. Fâïk finds an ally in Boo-Ally-Hussun Bin Sunjur, ruler of Khorassan, and also in Fukhr-ood-Dowla, Deilmy of Joorjan. Fâïk and his allies march against the King of Bokhara and Subooktugeen, but the former are defeated. Mahmood, the son of Subook-

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SOOLTAN MAHOMED-GHIZNEVY

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Ascends the throne, and marries the widow of the late King, Madood, daughter of Jakur Beg Suljooky. Ally Bin Rubeea flies from the capital, after plundering the treasury, accompanied by the household troops — reduces a part of the country of the Afghans for himself. Abool Rusheed, a son of Sooltan Mahmood, raises an army, sets up his pretensions to the throne, and advances to Ghizny — is feebly opposed by Sooltan Abool Hussun Ally, who is defeated and taken prisoner. - - - - 129

SOOLTAN ABOOL RUSHEED GHIZNEVY.

Causes which led to the pretensions set forth by Sooltan Abool Rusheed. Ally Bin Rubeea, who had occupied all the territory east of Kabul, is induced to acknowledge the supremacy of the King of Ghizny. Nagrakote retaken from the Hindoos by assault. Toghrul, an officer of the government, who had espoused the daughter of Modood, is sent with an army to Seestan — aspires to the throne — besieges Ghizny. The King compelled to surrender to the rebel, by whom he is put to death. Toghrul causes the daughter of Musaood the First to marry him — she is induced by Noshtugeen Hajib to procure his assassination. - - - - 131

SOOLTAN FUROKHZAD GHIZNEVY.

Noshtugeen assists in placing Furokhzad on the throne, and is created minister. Jakur Beg Suljooky advances against Ghizny — is opposed and defeated by Noshtugeen. The King, attended by his minister, proceeds to Khorassan, and recovers it from the Suljooks. Mutual exchange of prisoners between the Suljooks and Ghiznevides. Death of Furokhzad. - - - - - 135

SOOLTAN IBRAHEEM BIN MUSAOOD I. GHIZNEVY.

Furokhzad is succeeded by his brother Ibraheem — confirms to the Suljooks all the territory in their possession which they had from time to time wrested from the house of Ghizny. The Prince Musaood, the King's son, is married to the daughter of Mullik Shah Suljooky. Ibraheem invades India — takes Ajoodhun, Roodpal, and Dera. His death and character. - - - - 137

SOOLTAN MUSAOOD III. BIN IBRAHEEM GHIZNEVY

Succeeds his father — marries the daughter of Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky — deputes his general, Hajib Toghantugeen, to make conquests in India. Death of Sooltan Musaood the Third. - Page 143

SOOLTAN ARSLAN GHIZNEVY,

On his accession, seizes all his brothers, with the exception of Beiram, who flies to Khorassan, and finds protection with Mahomed, the brother of Mullik Shah Suljooky. Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky demands the release of the princes imprisoned by Arslan, which he refuses. War ensues. He sends his mother, the sister of Sooltan Sunjur, to treat for peace; but she urges the war, and supports the pretension of her son Beiram. Battle between Sooltan Sunjur and Arslan at Ghizny — the latter is defeated, and flies to Hindoostan — returns to Ghizny, and is again defeated — seeks protection with the Afghans — is seized by his own troops, and delivered into the hands of his brother Beiram — by whom he is put to death. - - 145

SOOLTAN BEIRAM BIN MUSAOOD III. GHIZNEVY

Patronises literature. Mahomed Bhyleem makes conquests in India — aspires at independence — is defeated by the King, and he and his ten sons are killed. Sooltan Beiram seizes and puts to death his son-in-law, Kootb-ood-Deen Ghoory. — Seif-ood-Deen Soor, the brother of Kootb-ood-Deen, revenges his death — marches to Ghizny, which is evacuated by Beiram. The King returns to his capital. The inhabitants of Ghizny betray Seif-ood-Deen into the hands of Beiram, by whom he is put to death with great ignominy. Alla-ood-Deen Soor marches from Ghoor to avenge his brother's death. Battle of Ghizny. Beiram defeated — retires to Lahore — his death. - - - - - - - 149

SOOLTAN KHOOSROW BIN BEIRAM GHIZNEVY.

Conduct of Alla-ood-Deen, after the capture of Ghizny, towards the inhabitants. Khoosrow attempts to recover Ghizny, but is deterred, owing to the death of Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky. Ghizny occupied by the Ghiza Toorkmans. Death of Sooltan Khoosrow. - 155

SOOLTAN KHOOSROW MULLIK BIN KHOOSROW GHIZNEVY

Is in possession of the territories in India occupied by his grandfather Beiram. Ghizny recovered from the Toorkmans by Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory. Pishawur, and all the territory west of the Indus, occupied by Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory — he invades the Punjab, and besieges Khoosrow Mullik in Lahore — concludes peace. Mullik Shah, the son of Khoosrow Mullik, is delivered up as a hostage. Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory returns to Lahore, and attacks it, but fails — he adopts a stratagem to seize Khoosrow Mullik, which succeeds. The end of the dynasty of the Ghiznevides. - 157

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY.

MAHOMED GHOORY.

Pedigree of the race of Mahomed Ghoory. Gheias-ood-Deen, King of Ghizny and Ghoor. Moiz-ood-Deen Mahomed, his general, appointed governor of Ghizny — besieges and takes Oocha — marches to Guzerat, and is defeated by the Hindoos. Invades India a second time — takes Bituhnda — is opposed by the Rajas of Ajmere and Dehly, near Tahneswur, on the banks of the Soorsutty. Battle of Narain. Mahomed Ghoory defeated — retreats to Lahore, and thence to Ghoor. Bituhnda retaken by the Hindoos. Mahomed Ghoory invades India a third time, with 120,000 men — is opposed on the former field of battle by the Hindoos. Exertions made by them to collect a large army — they are defeated. Chawund Ray, King of Dehly, is killed. Mahomed leaves Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk governor of Kohram and the new conquests in the East. Mahomed Ghoory returns to India — defeats the Raja of Kunowj and Benares — takes Asmy, Benares, and Kole, and retires to Ghizny. Returns again to India — Byana and Gualiar taken. Mahmood retreats to Ghizny. Kalpy, Budaoon, and Kalunjur taken by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk. Gheias-ood-Deen Ghoory dies — is succeeded by his brother Mahomed Ghoory. Operations to the westward and northward of Ghizny. Ghizny and Mooltan seized by his generals, who oppose Mahomed Ghoory on his return. Mahomed defeats them — proceeds to Lahore — is assassinated by the Gukkurs in Punjab. Distractions in the empire. - - - Page 161

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN EIBUK,

A Toorky slave of Mahomed Ghoory — his former life and history — is left Governor of India — is besieged in Hansy by the Hindoos, who are defeated, and compelled to retire — quits Hansy to meet Mahomed Ghoory coming from Pishawur. Recapitulation of the campaign. Kootb-ood-Deen is styled son by Mahomed Ghoory — is presented with a white elephant. Ajmeer taken from the Raja, and bestowed on Gola, his natural son. Hemraj, a relation, expels Gola. Kootb-ood-Deen marches to oppose the usurper, who is defeated. Ajmeer tributary to the Moslems. Kootb-ood-Deen invades Guzerat — defeats the Hindoos, and returns to Hansy — visits Kohram and Dehly. The Raja of Guzerat unites with the Raja of Nagoor to take Ajmeer. Kootb-ood-Deen marches to oppose them, but is defeated, and severely wounded. Ajmeer besieged by the allies. Kootb-ood-Deen receives reinforcements from Ghizny — raises the siege, and pursues the Hindoos to Aboogur — a bloody battle ensues, in which 50,000 Hindoos are slain — proceeds to Guzerat, and leaves an officer to occupy the country. Kalunjur besieged and taken by the Moslems. Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy sent to occupy Behar. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk invested with the ensigns of royalty by the successor of Mahomed Ghoory —

ascends the throne at Lahore, and assumes the title of King of India — is attacked by Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, whom he defeats — pursues him to Ghizny, and is again crowned — expelled from Ghizny — returns to India — death and character. Life of Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz. - - - - - Page 189

ARAM

Succeeds his father on the throne at Dehly. Dissensions in the state. Mooltan and Oocha taken and occupied by Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha. Bengal usurped by Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy. Imbecility of Aram apparent. A deputation from the nobles wait on Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, the son-in-law of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, inviting him to ascend the throne. Aram opposes Altmish, but is defeated, and loses his kingdom. - - - 203

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN ALTMISH:

His origin — espouses the daughter of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk — is created general-in-chief of the King's army — deposes his brother-in-law Aram, and ascends the throne. Dissensions in the state. The Toorky cavalry quit him, and some time after march to Dehly to dethrone him. The Toorks are defeated. Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, being expelled from Ghizny by the troops of Khwaruzm Shah, occupies Punjab, and even seizes on Tahneswur — is defeated by Altmish, and taken — dies in prison. Altmish defeats Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha of Mooltan, in two actions in Punjab — proceeds to Bengal, and establishes his authority over Gheias-ood-Deen, the son of Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy — leaves his son Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood in Behar. The latter defeats and kills Gheias-ood-Deen Bukhtyar in battle, and secures the occupation of Bengal. Shums-ood-Deen Altmish proceeds to Mooltan — expels Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, and leaves his minister, Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy, in charge. Shums-ood-Deen reduces Runtunbhore, Mando, and all Malwa. An embassy from the Caliph arrives at Dehly. Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, the King's eldest son, dies in Bengal. The title and territory conferred on the King's youngest son. The King retakes Gualiar, which had fallen into the hands of the Hindoos — takes Bhilsa and Oojein — proceeds towards Mooltan — is taken ill on the road — returns to Dehly — his death. - - - 205

ROOKN-OOD-DEEN FEROZE

Ascends the throne — his dissipated and licentious character — permits his mother to exercise great cruelty. She murders the widows of the late king, and one of his sons. Distracted condition of the court. Pretenders to the throne. Confederacy of the great chiefs of the kingdom against the King — they assemble forces at Lahore. The King marches to oppose them — reaches Munsoopoor, where he is deserted by seven of his generals, who raise Ruzeea Begum, the King's sister, to the throne at Dehly. The King returns to his capital, but is seized by his officers, and delivered over to the new government. - - - - - 213

SOOLTANA RUZEEA BEGUM.

Character of the Queen — her qualifications to reign superior to those of her brothers. The confederated army at Lahore marches against the Queen — her conduct on this occasion. Sows dissensions among the confederates — they begin to suspect each other, and separate — are attacked by the Queen's forces — many of the chiefs overtaken and executed. Khwaja Mehdy created minister, with the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk. Territorial limits — Punjab — Sind — Bengal. The Queen confers on Jumal-ood-Deen Yakoot, an Abyssinian officer, the dignity of Ameer-ool-Omra, chief of the nobles. Familiarity between the Queen and Yakoot. Jealousy of the chieftains. The governor of Lahore raises troops. The Queen marches to oppose him. He submits and is pardoned. Mullik Altoonia, governor of Bituhnda, revolts. The Queen proceeds to put down the insurrection. The Toorky chiefs mutiny. The favourite is slain, and the Queen delivered into the hands of her enemy, Mullik Altoonia. The Toorky officers return with the army to Dehly, and raise the Queen's brother Beiram to the throne. The Queen prevails on Mullik Altoonia to marry her, and defend her rights — they march towards Dehly, but are defeated by the new King's forces. The Queen and Mullik Altoonia again in the field — are defeated at Keituhl, by Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, and are both seized by the inhabitants of the country, and put to death. Reflections, by the author, on the fate of Sooltana Ruzeea Begum. - Page 217

MOIZ-OOD-DEEN BEIRAM

Ascends the throne. Yekhtyar-ood-Deen Aluptugeen and Khwaja Mehdy assume great power. The King endeavours to procure their assassination in open court. Aluptugeen is killed. Khwaja Mehdy escapes with several wounds. A conspiracy against the King's life, discovered by himself. The persons concerned gradually removed from court, and assassinated on their own estates, according to secret orders from the King. Invasion of Punjab by the Moguls of Chungiz Khan. Lahore besieged. The minister sent with an army to oppose the invaders — measures adopted by him to seduce the army from their allegiance. The army, under the minister, marches to Dehly to dethrone the King. The citizens deliver the King over to his enemies — suffers death. - - - - 223

ALLA-OOD-DEEN MUSAOOD.

Attempt of Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, the elder, to seize the crown — is deposed on the same day, and Alla-ood-Deen Musaood, the son of Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, is raised to the throne. Khwaja Mehdy, entitled Nizam-ool-Moolk, retains the office of minister, but is shortly after assassinated. An invasion of Moguls into Bengal, by the way of Thibet. Repulsed by Mullik Kurra Beg Teimoor, an officer sent from Dehly. The Moguls invade Oocha on the west. The King marches to oppose them — returns to Dehly — abandons himself to licentiousness — becomes very cruel. The nobles invite

the King's uncle, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, from Byraich, to ascend the throne. Alla-ood-Deen Musaood is deposed and imprisoned — in which condition he dies. - - - Page 229

NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHMOOD.

Life of the King previously to his accession — his love of literature — his remarkable character. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, the King's brother-in-law, appointed minister. Bulbun's nephew, Sheer Khan, nominated governor of the north-west provinces, to keep in check the Mogul incursions. The King transfers the whole weight of the government on his minister. The King proceeds to Mooltan. The minister attacks the Gukkurs for having united with the Moguls in their incursions. The Gukkurs defeated, and several thousands carried into slavery. Several of the ancient nobles holding estates in Punjab on feudal tenure directed to reside at court, while their sons are left in possession of them. The King returns to Dehly — proceeds to the Doab, lying between the Jumna and Ganges — reduces some Hindoo rajas — proceeds to Runtunbhore. The King recalls his brother Julal from Kunowj — the latter withdraws from the kingdom to Chittoor. The King espouses the daughter of his minister Bulbun. Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, another chief of the same tribe, is made governor of Oocha and Nagore — rebels — but is subsequently pardoned. The King besieges Nurwur, which is taken. Chundery and part of Malwa subdued and occupied by the King's troops. Sheer Khan, the minister's nephew, governor of Punjab, marches to Ghizny, and expels the Moguls. Oocha and Nagore made over to Sheer Khan. Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany intrigues against the minister Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, who retires to his estate at Hansy. Hansy taken from him. The ex-minister has recourse to arms — the nobles of the court support him — is restored to his office. Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany, ex-minister, rebels — is defeated, and suffers death. Kootloogh Khan in rebellion — is joined by the ruler of Sind — they are defeated by the minister. The ruler of Sind retires to his government, where he dies. Kootloogh Khan disappears. The Rajpoots of Mewat in insurrection — are attacked by the minister — desperate conflict. Mewatties subdued with heavy loss. 200 of their leaders put to death after being taken prisoners. An embassy is received from Hoolakoo, King of Persia. Splendid reception of the ambassador. Character of Nasir-ood-Deen — his death. - - - - - - 233

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN BULBUN:

His early life and character — his conduct on his accession to the throne his repugnance to the employment of men of low origin — his court the resort of many of the princes and nobles expelled by Chungiz Khan and the Moguls from their own dominions — his encouragement of learned men. Description of his court and equipage. Singular instances of stern justice. Makes war on the Mewatties. 100,000 Mewatties put to death. The army employed to fell the forests of Mewat, which become good arable lands. The King marches an army to Lahore, and repairs the city-walls. Settles pensions on the old officers of the army. The King's nephew, Sheer

Khan, dies — is buried in a magnificent tomb at Bhutnere. Moguls invade the Punjab. The King's eldest son Mahomed opposes and defeats them — is made governor of Mooltan. Toghrul Khan, ruler of Bengal, revolts. An army is sent against him, which is defeated, and the general slain. The King proceeds in person to quell the revolt. Togbrul flies to Orissa — is pursued by the King's army, and slain. The King returns to Dehly, after an absence of three years. The Prince Mahomed comes to the capital — his father's advice to him. Moguls invade Punjab. The Prince marches against them — defeats them, but is himself killed in the action — his romantic gallantry — his character. The King's grief for the loss of his son. Appoints the Prince's son, Kei Khoosrow, to succeed him in Mooltan. The King's health gradually declines. Sends for his son Kurra Khan, governor of Bengal, who comes, but again quits the capital. The King makes his will in favour of his grandson Kei Khoosrow, governor of Mooltan. Death of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun. Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal opposes the succession of Kei Khoosrow, but raises Kei Kobad, the son of Kurra Khan, to the throne. - - - - - - Page 247

KEIKOBAD.

His person described — his propensities. Nizam-ood-Deen, the minister's son, forms a design on the throne — procures Kei Khoosrow, the King's cousin, to be murdered. Increasing power of Nizam-ood-Deen — cuts off several of the Mogul officers in the army, and seizes their property. The King refuses to listen to the complaints against Nizam-ood-Deen. Kurra Khan, the King's father, is induced to march from Bengal to assert his claim to the throne — abandons his title, but requests a meeting with his son. Description of the visit. Kurra Khan persuades his son to remove Nizam-ood-Deen from his presence. Nizam-ood-Deen appointed governor of Mooltan — delays his journey — the King procures him to be poisoned. New administration. The King falls sick. Two parties at court — the one composed of Moguls, the other of the family of Khiljy. The Moguls endeavour to seize the leader of the Khiljies — obtain possession of the Prince Kelomoors, an infant, the King's only son. Khiljies rescue the child, and expel the Moguls — their leader is slain. Julal-vod-Deen Khiljy, the chief of the opposite party, procures the assassination of the King in his sick bed. Ascends the throne. End of the dynasty of the Toorks of Ghoor. - 273

JULAL-OOD-DEEN FEROZE KHILJY.

Origin of the tribe of Khiljy. Julal-ood-Deen puts to death the Prince Keiomoors. Measures taken to form a new ministry. The King affects remorse for his conduct, and respect for the late dynasty. Manners of the court. Encouragement to men of letters. A relative of the late King sets up claims to the throne — is defeated, but pardoned, and an estate conferred on him. The King's lenity reprobated by his clansmen — its ill effects. Arrival of one Siddy Mowla, a religious fanatic — engages in a conspiracy against the King. Trial and execution of Siddy Mowla. Public and domestic calamities of this period ascribed, by the writers of the times, to arise out of the

death of Siddy Mowla. Revolt at Runtunbhore. The King marches against it — relinquishes the siege — is reproached by his minister. 100,000 Moguls invade Hindoostan — are defeated by the King in person. The Moguls suffered to retreat without molestation. Oghloo Khan and 3000 Moguls enter the King's service, and embrace the faith of Islam. Quarters in the city of Dehly assigned to them. Mogulpoora built. Mullik Alla-ood-Deen, the King's nephew, takes Bhilsa, in Malwa — receives great honours, and addition to his estates — leads the first Mahomedan army into the Dekkan. Dewgur besieged. The Raja pays tribute. Return of Alla-ood-Deen — good conduct of his army in its retreat. The King is led to suspect that Alla-ood-Deen has designs on the throne — is warned both by his Queen and his minister against him. The King marches to Gualiar to meet his nephew, and to ascertain his real views — is deceived by Alla-ood-Deen — retires to Dehly. Alla-ood-Deen leads his army to his estate of Kurra. Almas Beg, the brother of Alla-ood-Deen, employed by him to effect a reconciliation, and to bring the King to Kurra. Julal-ood-Deen proceeds to meet his nephew — is assassinated. - - - - - Page 285

ALLA-OOD-DEEN KHILJY.

Consternation at Dehly. The Dowager-queen elevates her youngest son to the throne. Measures taken by Alla-ood-Deen to strengthen his party — his profuse liberality to all classes. The Queen-dowager invites her eldest son, governor of Mooltan, to repair to Dehly; but he declines the contest with Alla-ood-Deen, who arrives at the capital. The young King and his mother fly to Mooltan. Alla-ood-Deen proclaimed King in Dehly — entertains the people with public festivities — becomes popular — forms a new administration of the most able men of the state — gives a donation of six months' pay to the army. Sends his brother to attack the princes in Mooltan — they surrender under the most sacred promises of kind treatment — are brought to Dehly, and all the males are deprived of sight by the King's orders, and subsequently put to death. The Queen-dowager and the females are confined in Dehly. Moguls invade India — are defeated by the King's brother, with the loss of 12,000 men. Guzerat invaded, and partially conquered. Mutiny in the Guzerat army. Defection of Mahomed Mogul — takes refuge with the Raja of Runtunbhore. Mogul invasion repulsed by Zuffur Khan. Another invasion, by 200,000 men — reaches Dehly. Great exertions of the King. Moguls defeated. Zuffur Khan killed. Plot to assassinate the King, who is severely wounded, and left for dead. The King's great presence of mind, and good conduct. The assassin killed. Plot to raise a king in Dehly discovered and put down. The King's uneasiness. Internal regulations in all branches of his government. Sends armies to Chittoor on the west, and to Tulingana on the south. Mogul invasion of 120,000 men — reaches Dehly without a check. The Moguls withdraw suddenly. The King frames a scheme of finance. Regulates the price of all articles. Famine ensues. Another Mogul invasion. Moguls cut off in their retreat. The King sends armies to Guzerat, Malwa, and the Deccan. Success of his generals, particularly Mullik Kafoor, in the Deccan. Capture of Kowul Devy — also of her daughter Dewul

Devy. Siege of Jalwur. Massacre of the Moguls in Dehly, by the King's orders. Flourishing condition of the empire under Alla-ood-Deen. The King becomes suspicious of his sons, and confines them. Misfortunes in the empire. Dissensions in the provinces. Revolution in the Deccan. Death of the King. - - Page 321

OOMUR KHILJY.

Mullik Kafoor produces a spurious testament of the King, nominating his youngest son, Oomur Khan, his successor, and appointing Mullik Kafoor protector, during his minority. Mullik Kafoor procures the King's eldest sons, Khizr Khan and Shady Khan, to be blinded, and another son, Moobarik, is imprisoned for the same purpose. Mullik Kafoor espouses the mother of the young King. Plot of the officers of the guards to kill the protector. Mullik Kafoor is assassinated. The Prince Moobarik is raised to the throne. The young King, Oomur Khan, is deprived of eyesight, and confined for life in the fort of Gualiar. - - - - - - - 383

MOOBARIK KHILJY.

The officers of the guards, who had cleared the way for the King's accession, are put to death. The King disgusts his nobles by raising low persons to high dignities. One Mullik Khoosrow, a Hindoo of the lowest origin, is enrolled among the nobility, and is appointed to the command of the army. The King indiscriminately orders the gates of the prisons to be thrown open, by which 17,000 persons are set free — he abolishes all the regulations regarding trade introduced by his father — he abandons himself to licentiousness, and the most degrading vices. The King sends an army to Guzerat, and marches in person to the Deccan — sends Mullik Khoosrow, with the main body of the army, towards Malabar, and returns to Dehly. A plot discovered against the King's life. The leader of the conspiracy, a cousin of the King, suffers death. The princes at Gualiar are also murdered, and the widow of one of them is brought to Dehly, and placed in the King's haram. The King becomes totally regardless of all decency in his licentiousness and vices. Mullik Khoosrow returns from the Deccan. The King goes forth to meet him — embraces him publicly. Khoosrow aims at the throne. Plot to murder the King publicly talked of. The King warned by his tutor — neglects the admonition — is murdered by Mullik Khoosrow. - 386

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK.

New ministry. The King's eldest son is sent with an army to Tulingana. Wurungole besieged. Disaffection of the officers. Dispersion of the troops. Retreat of the Prince to Dehly. A new army collected. The Prince proceeds a second time to Wurungole, which is taken. The Raja and his family sent to Dehly. The Prince proceeds to Jajnuggur — returns to Wurungole, and proceeds to Dehly. The King leaves his son in Dehly, and proceeds to Bengal — invades Tirhool — returns towards Dehly — is met by his son at Afghanpoor. A temporary building is erected by the Prince for the King's reception. The building gives way, and the King and some of his attendants are killed. - - - - - 401

MAHOMED TOGHLUK.

The Prince, Aluf Khan, ascends the throne, and assumes the title of Mahomed. Invasion of the Choghtay Tartars, under Toormooshreen Khan. Expeditions from Dehly into the Deccan. Disaffection throughout the kingdom. The army mutinies. Expedients to recruit the King's finances — they fail. The King sends an army to invade China — its total destruction. Insurrection in the Deccan by the King's nephew — he is delivered up by the Raja, Bilal Dew, and suffers a cruel death. The King makes Dewgur his capital, and causes it to be called Dowlutabad. Compels the inhabitants of Dehly to occupy Dowlutabad. Insurrection in Mooltan. Dehly repeopled. Invasion of Punjab by the Afghans. Famine in Dehly. The Gukkurs overrun Punjab. Revolt in Sumbhul. Confederacy of the Hindoos in the Deccan. Revolt of the King's troops in the Deccan. Revolt in Malwa. Revolt in Guzerat. Death of the King from a surfeit of fish. - - - - Page 409

FEROZE TOGHLUK.

Mutiny in the army. The Mogul troops plunder the treasury. Feroze, the King's cousin, is raised to the throne in the camp — his claim disputed at Dehly — but is subsequently acknowledged. The independence of the Deccan and Bengal acknowledged by the reception of ambassadors. War with Bengal. The Dehly army proceeds to Jajnuggur, in Orissa. The King's eldest son, Mahomed, suspected of treason. The King reconciled to him — resigns the government into his hands. A governor is sent to Guzerat, who is refused admittance. A conspiracy formed to depose the new King, who is besieged in his capital. The old King is brought out by the populace, the new king expelled. The Prince Gheias-ood-Deen is raised to the throne. Death of Feroze Toghluk at the age of 90 — his character. The public works executed during his reign. - - 444

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK.

The King forms a new ministry — sends a force to attack the Prince Mahomed Khan. The King's brother and cousins fly from Dehly, owing to apprehension of his jealousy and cruelty — they form an insurrection, and return with an army to the capital. Death of some of the King's adherents. The King's death. - - - 466

ABOO BUKR TOGHLUK.

Aboo Bukr, the son of the Prince Zuffer Khan, the third son of Feroze Toghluk, is raised to the throne. The Ameer Judeeda, or Mogul officers, refuse to acknowledge Aboo Bukr — they rise on his minister and slay him, and invite the exiled Prince, Mahomed Khan, to urge his pretensions to the throne. Mahomed arrives — defeats the King, and ascends the throne a second time. - - - 468

NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHOMED TOGHLUK II.

Events which preceded the King's accession. Contests between the two Kings. Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed occupies Dehly twice, but is

expelled — succeeds the third time in driving out Aboo Bukr, who is eventually taken in battle, and confined for life. Insurrection in Guzerat. Furhut-ool-Moolk sent to quell it — proceeds thither, and proclaims himself king. Islam Khan created minister — is accused by Khwaja Jehan of treason, and suffers death. Khwaja Jehan created minister. The King marches against Bahadur Nahir of Mewat. Sheikha Gukkur takes Lahore. The King's illness, and death — is succeeded by his son Hoomayoon, who dies after a short reign of 40 days. - - - - - - - - Page 470

MAHMOOD TOGHLUK.

The minister, Khwaja Jehan, proceeds to Joonpoor, and establishes his independence. Sarung Khan, viceroy of Mooltan, defeats the Gukkurs — recovers Lahore out of their hands, and becomes independent at Depalpoor. His brother, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, creates a revolt in the capital. The inhabitants take opposite sides. Three parties in Dehly, each supporting a king. Civil war in the capital for three years. All the provinces become independent. Invasion of India by Teimoor (or Tamerlane). - - - - 478

INVASION OF TEIMOOR (OR TAMERLANE).

Teimoor crosses the Indus, and proceeds by Toolumba to Mooltan, where he is joined by his grandson, Peer Mahomed. Proceeds to Bhutnere, which he reduces. Marches by Paniput to Dehly. Reconnoitres the city with a small division of troops — is attacked, but repulses the Indians. The Indian captives, to the number of 100,000, put to death by his order. Battle of Dehly. The Indians defeated, and their King, Mahmood Toghluk, flies. Contribution laid on Dehly — causes resistance. Massacre and sack of Dehly. Teimoor retreats, after appointing Khizr Khan, an Indian chief, his deputy. Noosrut Shah enters Dehly, and expels Mulloo Yekbal Khan. Noosrut Shah subsequently expelled by Mulloo Yekbal Khan. The territory of Dehly confined to a few villages. Seven independent kingdoms established on the ruins of the Dehly monarchy. Mahmood Toghluk returns to Dehly — retires on a pension. Mulloo Yekbal Khan attacks Khizr Khan, Teimoor's deputy — is killed in battle. Khizr Khan arrives at Dehly. - - - - - 485

SYUD KHIZR KHAN:

His origin — assumes the reins of government, but disclaims the title of King — forms a new ministry — causes the Khootba, or public prayers, to be read, and coins to be struck in the name of Teimoor — endeavours to re-establish the authority of the Dehly state — recovers great part of the Dooab. The governor of Surhind assassinated, and one Mullik Toghan Toork becomes master of the place — is expelled by the minister, Zeeruk Khan. Khizr Khan proceeds by the route of Byana to Gualiar. Mullik Toghan returns to attack Surhind — is repulsed, and flies — is overtaken, and compelled to pay a fine. Toghan is permitted to retain possession of Jalendur. Khizr Khan sends an army against Kutehr. An impostor, assuming the name of Sarung Khan, the late brother of

Yekbal Khan, collects forces at Machiwara — is defeated — joins Mullik Toghan, who espouses his cause. On discovering that he has wealth, Mullik Toghan puts him to death. Mullik Toghan ravages Surhind, but is defeated, and expelled the kingdom. Khizr Khan taken ill — dies — his character. Tokens of the people's regard. Page 506

SYUD MOOBARIK.

Succeeds his father. Insurrection in Punjab suppressed. The minister appointed governor. Survur-ool-Moolk created vizier. New insurrection in Punjab. The King of Malwa declares war against Dehly, and lays siege to Gualiar — is compelled to retreat. Insurrection in Mewat suppressed. The King proceeds to Byana. The King of Joonpoor makes war with the ruler of Kalpy. The latter is assisted by the King of Dehly. The rulers of Byana, Mewat, and Surhind, in open rebellion against the Dehly government. Byana and Mewat reduced to obedience. The ruler of Surhind invites the Moguls from Kabul to aid him. The King of Dehly retires from Surhind to Dehly. The Moguls are attacked, and totally routed. Revolt in Punjab. The King's governor taken prisoner. The King proceeds in person, and recovers Punjab. Appoints a new governor. Lahore taken by the Moguls and Gukkurs. Mullik Sikundur appointed generalissimo — expels the Moguls and Gukkurs, and returns to court. The King becomes jealous of his minister. The latter apprehensive of the King, causes him to be assassinated. - 513

SYUD MAHOMED,

The King's son, is raised to the throne by the minister. The King's murderers are created governors of provinces. Disaffection of the officers. Insurrection in Sumbhul. Kaly Khan sent to suppress it — he joins the insurgents, and marches to the capital. The minister is slain. Kaly Khan minister. The murderers of the late King punished. Rebellion in Mooltan. Bheilole Khan Lody assumes independence in Lahore. Defeats the King's troops sent against him. Insurrection in all quarters. The King of Joonpoor seizes some of the King's districts. The King of Malwa leads an army against Dehly. Bheilole Khan Lody is called in to assist the King. The Malwa army retreats. Disagreement between the King and Bheilole Lody — the latter quits the court — returns and besieges Dehly for six months. The King falls sick — his death. - - - 532

SYUD ALLA-OOD-DEEN,

The son of the late King, ascends the throne — proceeds to reduce Byana — retreats to Dehly — falls into contempt. Interesting account of the Mahomedan rule in India. The territorial limits of each principality described. The King removes his court to Budaoon — attempts to put his minister to death. The latter flies to Dehly, and invites Bheilole Lody to occupy it. Bheilole arrives — deceives the King as to his motive — is adopted by the King as his heir — Alla-ood-Deen abdicates his throne — and is content to live at Budaoon. - - - - - - - - 540

BHEILOLE LODY AFGHAN.

Origin of the power of Bheilole — permits Humeed Khan, the late King's minister, to resume his functions — at length he adopts a mode of seizing his person, without causing bloodshed, and compels him to withdraw from public life. The chiefs of the petty principalities around Dehly refuse to acknowledge Bheilole Lody. Bheilole establishes his supremacy over all but the state of Joonpoor, with which he contends during the reign of three kings, and eventually conquers it. Bheilole proceeds to Gualiar — falls sick — returns towards Dehly — anticipates his death — divides his kingdom into chiefships — his son, Nizam Khan, is nominated his successor: — The kingdom of Joonpoor is conferred on his son Barbik — Kurra Manukpoor is granted to Alum — Bhyraich to his nephew Kala P'har — Luknow and Kalpy are bestowed on a relative, Azim Hoomayoon — Dehly, and the rest of the territory, belong to his Son and successor, Nizam. Bheilole dies on his journey to Dehly, after a reign of 38 years. His character. Description of his government. - - - - - - Page 544

SIKUNDUR LODY AFGHAN.

The Afghan chiefs raise Nizam Khan to the throne, under the title of Sikundur. Eesa Khan refuses at first to acknowledge Sikundur, but does so in the end — he revolts, and is killed in battle. Barbik Khan refuses obedience — he is defeated — is reinstated in his government of Joonpoor — his bad administration — is eventually removed. Efforts made by Hoossein Shah Shurky to recover Joonpoor defeated. Sikundur pursues Hoossein Shah to Bengal — invades Punna and Banda — proceeds to Dholpoor and Gualiar — receives submission from the Rajas of both places — subsequently takes Dholpoor. An earthquake in Agra. Gives encouragement to the son of the King of Malwa to make over Chundery to him — obtains possession of Chundery. Endeavours to lay hold on Runtunbhore, but fails. Summons an army to collect at Agra for the siege of Gualiar. The King is taken ill, and dies — his character — his zeal for the Mahomedan religion. - - - 563

IBRAHIM LODY AFGHAN.

Ibrahim offends his countrymen by his avowed indifference to them. The King's brother Julal, governor of Kalpy, proceeds to Joonpoor, and assumes the title of King. He is defeated, and flies to Gualiar. Gualiar besieged. The Raja dies. Julal flies to Malwa, and eventually to Gondwara, where he is seized, and delivered over to the King. Julal suffers death. Gualiar taken. The Afghan chiefs rebel in several quarters. The King's cruelty. All the country east of the Ganges occupied by the son of Duria Khan Lohany, who assumes the title of Mahomed Shah. Dowlut Khan Lody, governor of Lahore, rebels — invites Babur from Kabul to invade India. Babur's first attempt, accompanied by Alla-ood-Deen Lody, the King's brother, fails. Babur invades India in person. Ibrahim opposes him — is defeated, and slain. End of the Afghan dynasty. - 590

A Comparative View of the Chronological Events of Europe and those connected with the Mahomedan Power in India. - - 601

THE

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

In the perusal of a history in which the author in many instances writes from personal observation, and amid scenes wherein he is himself an actor, it is always pleasing to have some account of his life: to know at least whence he came, who he was, in what age he lived, and what was his fate. It would be peculiarly interesting had we the means of developing all these particulars regarding Ferishta; but his modesty has prevented our knowing half as much of him as we could wish; and it is to be regretted, that events, of which we have only a slender account, have combined to leave us almost without a trace of the end of this excellent historian. From the mention he occasionally makes of himself, in order to verify his narrative, we learn that Mahomed Kasim, surnamed Ferishta, was born at Astrabad, on the border of the Caspian sea; that he was the son of Gholam Ally Hindoo Shah, a learned man, who, quitting his native country, travelled into India, and eventually reached Ahmudnuggur in the Deccan, during the reign of Moortuza Nizam Shah. Ferishta has left us in ignorance of the

precise date of his birth; but as he states that he had only attained his twelfth year when he reached Ahmudnuggur, and that he was a fellow-student with the young Prince Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah, who deposed his father at the age of sixteen, in the year 1587, it is fair to conclude that our author was but little older than this Prince; and we may therefore assume that he was born about the year 1570. Gholam Ally Hindoo Shah, the father of Ferishta, was selected, on account of his erudition, to instruct the Prince Meeran Hoossein in the Persian language, and it seems probable that the former died at Ahmudnuggur not long after his arrival there. Ferishta was thus left an orphan in his youth; but the introduction which his father's acquirements had procured for him at court, secured to his son the patronage and favour of the King Moortuza Nizam Shah, so that we find him on the day his royal master was dethroned holding the office of captain of the guard. On this occasion, he only escaped the common fate of the King's attendants owing to the Prince Meeran Hoossein recognising him, and personally interposing to save his life. Meeran Hoossein was himself deposed and murdered in less than a year. Ferishta, then aged seventeen, appears to have taken no active part in the revolutions which succeeded the death of his patron. His religious persuasion (he being a Sheea) prevented his having many friends among the stronger party at court, and this circumstance naturally made him anxious to avoid the scenes which were likely to ensue; so that we find him not long after quitting Ahmud-

nuggur, and proceeding to the neighbouring court of Beejapoor.

(According to his own statement, he reached that city in the year 1589, and was kindly received by the minister and regent Dilawur Khan, who introduced him to the King Ibrahim Adil Shah II. From the station Ferishta filled under Moortuza Nizam Shah, it seems likely that he entered the service of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. in a military capacity); a supposition which is rather confirmed by the mention he makes of himself immediately after his arrival at Beejapoor. Scarcely had he reached that capital, when Dilawur Khan induced the young King to take the field in support of Boorhan Nizam Shah, the legitimate sovereign of Ahmudnuggur, against an usurper named Jumal Khan, a person who at the same time wielded the sceptre, and pretended to work miracles as the leader of a new religious sect. The regent of Beejapoor was as anxious to bring the enemy to action as the young King Ibrahim was desirous to delay, until Boorhan Nizam Shah should bring his forces into the field.* Jumal Khan, however, at the head of the troops of Ahmudnuggur, advanced by the route of Purenda towards Beejapoor; and Dilawur Khan, contrary to the King's commands, attacked him in the vicinity of the Bheema river. During the action, several Beejapoor chiefs of distinction deserted Dilawur

* This difference of opinion between Ibrahim Adil Shah and his minister produced two factions, and was attended with serious consequences.

Khan, and returned to Darasun, a spot situated at the junction of the Sena and Bheema rivers, where the King remained encamped. Dilawur Khan was defeated, and the Beejapoor army retreated during the night to Shahdoorg. Ferishta modestly remarks; — "The wounds which I re- "ceived during the action prevented my travel- "ling, and I fell a prisoner into the hands of Jumal "Khan, but afterwards effected my escape;" so that when Jumal Khan was compelled to fall back to oppose Boorhan Nizam Shah, now in the field on the north, Ferishta was enabled to rejoin the Beejapoor army. On the retreat of Jumal Khan, the Beejapoor troops pursued him for nearly one hundred and sixty miles, as far as the Rohunkehra Ghat, when a second disagreement took place between the King and his minister Dilawur Khan. A great coolness had subsisted between them ever since the battle of Darasun, and this subsequent difference determined the King to free himself from Dilawur Khan's trammels; but the attachment of the royal household servants and the body-guard to the minister rendered such a project exceedingly difficult. At length, however, the King gained over Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany, whose division was encamped at the distance of a mile from the regent, to support him.

The King, having mounted his horse secretly, left his tent to proceed to Ein-ool-Moolk's camp, when his foster-brother Elias Khan, who was on duty, perceiving him, ran up, and asked whither he was going. He replied, "Ask no "questions; but if you choose to accompany me,

"do so." Elias Khan instantly followed with a hundred horsemen; and during the night several chieftains, together with about three thousand men, joined him also. "Among this number," says Ferishta, "was the author of this history." Dilawur Khan in vain endeavoured to regain his power, but was compelled to fly to Ahmudnuggur.

No further mention is made of himself by Ferishta for several years; and it appears likely, that shortly after this period he commenced the compilation of his history, in furtherance of which, he observes, his patron, Ibrahim Adil Shah, spared no expense to procure the most ample materials. But of the thirty-four standard books mentioned as the sources whence he drew his information, besides twenty others alluded to in his history, very few are now extant. Ferishta seems to have finished his account of the Beejapoor kings in 1596, at the age of twenty-six, and the remaining portions of his work must have been composed in the few following years. At the age of thirty-four, he escorted the Princess Begum Sooltana from Beejapoor to Ahmudnuggur, was present at her nuptials with the Prince Daniel Mirza, at Moongy Peitun in 1604, and "attended her palanquin" as far as Boorhanpoor in Kandeish, the capital of her husband's government.

After his return to Beejapoor, he was deputed on a mission to the Great Mogul Jehangeer, the successor of Akbur. The latter prince is stated to have died of grief on hearing of the death of his son Daniel, who did not long survive his mar-

riage with the Beejapoor princess. (Ferishta overtook the court of Jehangeer near Lahore, on his route to Kashmeer, in the year 1606; and although our author does not mention the object of his mission, yet knowing as we do the connection which subsisted between the two families, and that Jehangeer had lately ascended the throne, it may be fairly inferred that Ferishta was selected as one of the most accomplished persons of the Beejapoor court, to convey his sovereign's condolence on the loss of a father, and also his congratulation to Jehangeer on his accession to the throne of the most potent kingdom in the East. *

(From the work being sometimes denominated Nowrus Nama, we are led to suppose it was finished during the residence of Ibrahim Adil Shah in his new capital, styled Nowrus,) which he commenced building in 1599; and Ferishta makes mention of the existence of the Portuguese and the English factories at Surat, in the year 1611, about which time (his work was probably brought to a close, when he had attained his forty-first year; and the following reasons lead to the supposition that he died shortly after. Owing to some superstitious fancy, Ibrahim Adil Shah was induced to remove his court from his capital, after reigning thirty-two years, and he selected the village of Torgha, situated about three miles due west of Beejapoor, for the site of the new town, which he denominated Nowrus (Novel), a favourite appel-

* That admirable traveller, Bernier, must have been in the camp at the same time.

lation given at the time to a new coin struck on the occasion, and which soon became a familiar term at court for all the new fashions, thus accounting for a work like that of Ferishta being so denominated. Ibrahim Adil Shah abandoned Nowrus in a few years, and returned to reside permanently at Beejapoor, where he died in the year 1626, fifteen years after we have any traces of Ferishta. The fashion which pervaded the court of Beejapoor for fine buildings appears to have prevailed most about this period; and the superb mosque, calculated to contain five thousand persons kneeling, built by his uncle Ally Adil Shah I., probably gave rise to the taste which produced those superb works now remaining as monuments of the magnificence of the Beejapoor court. The palace of Kamil Khan the Regent; the mosque and reservoir of Chand Beeby; the chaste and beautiful tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., the patron of Ferishta; and the mausoleum over his son Mahomed, whose cupola excedes in diameter that of St. Paul's, being inferior in size only to that of St. Peter's at Rome, are now standing and in good repair; and, together with the numerous fine edifices which are scattered for miles over the plain, afford ample proofs of the splendour of the times. Had Ferishta lived long after completing his history, considering the distinction which he had attained at court, it seems probable we should have known more of him, either as a minister or as an author. We may conclude, also, that he would have procured and completed the history of the Golconda

sovereigns now extant, to which he alludes, but which he had then failed in obtaining; and also that of Khoosrow Shah of Budukhshan, which he promised to write. Had he died at Beejapoor after the return of the court, it is probable so eminent a person would not have been denied some mausoleum to commemorate his name. It seems, therefore, extremely likely that the death of our author occurred during the residence of the court at Nowrus, as, subsequently to the abandonment of that city, its buildings fell so rapidly to decay, that, with the exception of a part of the uncompleted wall, and some few ruins of palaces, little remains that is worthy of notice.

The only monument, therefore, of this industrious historian is to be found in his works, of which the following pages are a translation.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

MAHOMED KASIM HINDOO SHAH, surnamed Ferishta, the most humble of the subjects of this realm, begs to state to the learned, that in his youthful days he was early inspired with a desire of compiling a history of the conquests of Islam in Hind, and of giving some account of the holy personages who have flourished in this country; but being unable to procure the materials necessary for this purpose at Ahmudnuggur, where he then resided, his wish was not fulfilled, when in the year 998 (A. D. 1589) he proceeded from that city to Beejapoor, and was introduced to the prince who then filled the throne of the latter kingdom. That monarch devoted much of his time to the study of history, and frequently heaped favours on this author, urging him to complete the object which had ever been uppermost in his mind.

In order to effect this end, he was directed to obtain historical works from all quarters; and in a short time a vast collection of materials was

brought together and minutely examined. Of these not one work contained all the information which was required; for, though the history of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy embraces a great portion of the period alluded to, it was found so defective in some parts, that the author even was capable of supplying many of the deficiences from his personal knowledge alone. The desire, therefore, of becoming the historian of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India more and more filled the writer's mind. He, in consequence, began to arrange his materials; and having, in the course of time, brought his task to a close, he presented it in the year 1018 (A. D. 1609), under the title of "The History of Ferishta," to his revered monarch, to whom his labours are thus humbly dedicated.

As the author conceives it would be highly unbecoming in him to make comments on those writers who have touched on the same subjects, and who have drawn their mantles over their heads, and sunk into the slumber of the tomb, he places the finger of silence on his lips, and is dumb as to their imperfections. He leaves his readers to judge of *his* work for themselves; begging them to understand, that the height of his ambition amounts only to the desire that his history may rank in comparison with theirs, as the Caaba at Mecca does with the holy Temple of Jerusalem, and as Ally ranks with the prophet Mahomed.

The author's fervent hope is, that these simple and unadorned annals, founded on truth, but devoid of all pretension to elegancy of style, or beauty of composition, may be acceptable to the Prince to whom they are dedicated; and that the contents of these volumes may be disseminated far and wide over the regions of the earth.

In the compilation of this work the following original manuscripts were consulted: —

1. Turjooma Yemuny.
2. Zein-ool-Akhbar.
3. Taj-ool-Maasir.
4. Moolhikat Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen of Beejapoor.
5. Tubkat-i-Nasiry.
6. History of Feroze Shah.
7. Victories of Feroze Shah.
8. Commentaries of Babur.
9. Commentaries of Hoomayoon.
10. History of Moobarik Shah.
11. Another History of Moobarik Shah.
12. Bahmun Nama, an heroic Poem, by Sheikh Azoory.
13. Tareekh Bina-i-Gety.
14. Siraj-oot-Tareekh Bahmuny, by Moolla Mahomed Lary.
15. Tohfut-oos-Sulateen Bahmuny, by Moolla Dawood Bidry.
16. History of One thousand Years, by Moolla Ahmud of Nineveh.
17. Rozut-oos-Suffa.
18. Hubeeb-oos-Seer.
19. History, by Hajy Mahomed Kundahry.

20. Tubkat Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, by Nuseer Shah.
21. Memoirs of the Reign of Mahmood Shah of Guzerat.
22. History of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat.
23. History of Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat.
24. Another History of Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat.
25. History of Mahmood the Great of Mando.
26. History of Mahmood the Lesser of Mando.
27. History, by Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy.
28. History of Bengal.
29. History of Sind.
30. History of Kashmeer.
31. Fowayid-ool-Fowad.
32. Kheir-ool-Mujalis.
33. History of Kootb Shah.
34. Sir-ool-Aarifeen, by Sheikh Jumal, the Poet.
35. Nooska Kootby. *

* Besides the works specified in the author's preface, quotations are made from the following in the body of the work; viz.

1. Saky Nama.
2. Towareekh Ahmud Oolla Moostowfy.
3. Towareekh Murihaj-oos-Siraj Joorjany.
4. Jama-ool-Hikayat.
5. Maasir-ool-Moolook.
6. Futtooh-ool-Bulad.
7. Travels of Abool Nusr Nuskatty.
8. Travels of Abool Fuzeel.
9. Futtooh-oos-Sulateen.
10. Towareekh Ghoory, by Fukhr-ood-Deen Moobarik Shah Lody.
11. Towareekh Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Attar.
12. Zein-ool-Maasir.

Both these works give account of Somnat.

13. Goolistan of Sady.
14. Towareekh Goozeda.

The work is divided into an introduction, twelve chapters, and a conclusion.

The Introduction treats of the Progress of Mahomedism in India.

Chapter I. The Kings of Ghizny and Lahore.
II. The Kings of Dehly.
III. The Kings of the Deccan.
IV. The Kings of Guzerat.
V. The Kings of Malwa.
VI. The Kings of Kandeish.
VII. The Kings of Bengal and Behar.
VIII. The Kings of Mooltan.
IX. The Rulers of Sind.
X. The Kings of Kashmeer.
XI. An Account of Malabar.
XII. An Account of the Saints of India.

Conclusion: giving some Account of the Geography and Climate of India.

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15. Mukhzun-ool-Asrar, by Sheikh Nizamy, dedicated to Sooltan Beiram Bin Musaood Ghiznevy.
16. Kuleel-oo-Dumna, called also Anwur-Soheily.
17. Towareekh Jehan Ara, by Kazy Ahmud Ghufarry.
18. Huj-Nama.
19. Khoolasut-ool-Insha.
20. Rozut-ool-Insha.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

ON

THE HINDOOS.

The Mahabharut is the most celebrated historical work among the Hindoos. It was translated from the original Sanscrit into Persian verse, by Sheikh Abool Fuzl, the son of Sheikh Mobarik, by order of Akbur Padshah, and it consists of more than 100,000 couplets. Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, the author of this work, having made an abstract of that translation, has availed himself of it to form the introductory part of this history.

The philosophers and sages of India have related the formation of this earth differently, according to their own notions. Thirteen various accounts are given in the Mahabharut alone, not one of which is sufficiently satisfactory to induce us to adopt it in preference to another. The Hindoos divide time into four ages: 1st, Sutyoog; 2d, Tritayoog; 3d, Duwapuryoog; 4th, Kulyoog; and they assert, that the four ages continue in succession to all eternity; the present being the Kulyoog, which when at an end, the Sutyoog will re-commence. The earth, therefore, is by them

deemed eternal, without beginning and without end: though some brahmins assert, that this world will have an end, and that a judgment-day will come.

The Sutyoog is said to have lasted during a period of 1,728,000 years; when virtue and truth prevailed, and man lived 100,000 years.

The Tritayoog is a period of 1,296,000 years; three parts of the creation, during that time, obeyed the word of God, and the life of man was 10,000 years.

The Dwapuryoog is a period of 864,000 years; during which half of the creation was wicked, and man only lived 1000 years.

The Kulyoog is a period of 432,000 years. Men, in this period, became sinful; only one quarter of the human race followed the dictates of God, and the life of man was curtailed to 100 years. According to the Hindoo account, in the present year (1015 of the Hijra), 4684 years of the Kulyoog have elapsed. *

In the beginning, God created the four elements; besides which the Hindoos reckon the æther as a fifth element; and after that, according to some accounts, he created man, whom he called Brumma; to whom he gave the power of creating every living

* It may be useful to state, that the Yoogs progress in an arithmetical ratio of 1, 2, 3, 4, from the smallest to the greatest number, and are divisible both by the common Indian cycle of 60 years, which is the usual divisor of time among them, as also by the figure 9, which is applicable both to time and things. These observations are intended to convey to the reader's mind the notion that the extravagancy of the Hindoo calculations are not without method, and require only the key to become intelligible and within the limits of our belief. This is not the place to discuss a question which would fill a volume.

thing. The Hindoos are of opinion, that the æther, which they consider an element, is immaterial; that air only moves round the earth; that the planets, which are emanations from the Deity, have appeared on earth as men; who, after terrestrial mortality, are translated into heaven, in reward of their holy works on earth, by which they approximate so nearly to the Divinity in excellence, as to partake of his glory. It would appear from some of their books, that they consider the firmament itself as the divine essence.

Brahma, in virtue of the power vested in him, created four tribes of the human race; viz. 1st, Brahman; 2d, Kshetry; 3d, Byse; and, 4th, Soodr. The first was charged with the worship of the divinity, and the instruction of the human species. The second was appointed to rule over mankind. The third was required to plough the ground, and perform all sorts of handicraft. The fourth was doomed to be servile to the other three tribes. Brahma then wrote the book to direct mankind, which he called Veda. This is a work on theology, composed of 100,000 slogs; each slog or couplet being four churun, each churun or verse containing not more than 26 or less than 21 letters. Brahma lived 100 years of the sutyoog, each year containing 360 days, each day being 4000 years of the present age, and each night the same. The brahmins unanimously agree, that there is but one Brahma; that he has appeared 1001 times; and of the life of the present Brahma 50 years and half a day have elapsed, and the other half is now in progress.

It is related, that in the latter end of the Dwapuryoog, in the city of Hustnapoor *, Raja Bhurt, of the tribe of Kshetry, sat on the throne; after whom, seven rajas lineally descended from him reigned. The eighth was named Kooroo, and the Koorooket, or field of Tahnesur, is called after him. His descendants are denominated Kooroos. This dynasty reigned for six generations, till the accession of Veechitrveera Tej Raja, of the same line. He had two sons, the one D'hertrashtra, the Conqueror, and the other Pundoo (the Fair †); but the former, being blind, was put aside (although the elder), and his younger brother Pundoo sat on the throne, from whom is sprung the Pandoo dynasty. Pundoo left five sons; Yoodishteer (the Bold), called also Dhurma Raja; Bheema, and Arjoon, all born of one mother, called Koonty; while Nukool and Sahadeva were born of Madry. D'hertrashtra had 101 sons, 100 born of a daughter of the Raja Gand'har, the eldest of whom was called Dooryodhun, and another son called Yooyoocha, born of a plebeian's daughter. From the descendants of D'hertrashtra are the Kooroo tribe; while the descendants of his younger brother, Pundoo, are called Pandoos. Upon the death of Pundoo, D'hertrashtra, notwithstanding the circumstance of his blindness, was proclaimed raja, and his eldest son, Dooryodhun, became regent; and entertaining a jealousy of his cousins (the five Pandoos), he determined to put them to death. D'hertrashtra, too, was not without his ap-

* A town of this name still exists about 45 miles N. E. of Dehly.

† The word signifies, literally, *yellow*.

prehensions from his nephews, the Pandoos, whom he commanded to build their houses outside of the town, in order to prevent family disputes. Dooryodhun bribed the architects to construct the houses with large quantities of pitch and bitumen, so that they might easily be consumed; but the Pandoos, anticipating his intentions, set fire to their habitations, and, with their mother, left Hustnapoor. In this conflagration a woman named Bheel *, together with her five sons, who had been bribed to commit the act, fell victims to the flames; but the Kooroos, on the next day, finding the remains of Bheel and her sons, concluded that they were those of the Pandoos. After this event, the Pandoos having withdrawn from Hustnapoor, travelled over great part of India, and fought several battles, accounts of which occupy the greater part of the Mahabharut. At length they reached the city of Kumpila †, where the five brothers, being married in succession to Drowpdy, the daughter of the raja of Kumpila, agreed that she should live with one of them for 72 days, by which means each contrived to enjoy her company for one-fifth part of every year. Some Hindoos, however, deny this fact. Be it as it may; Dooryodhun hearing the Pandoos were alive, determined to ascertain the truth; and unable to dispute their rights, he invited them to Hustnapoor, when he gave over to them Indra-

* The Mahabharut states, that a woman of the tribe of Kisat (the appellation given to the Bheel tribe), with her five sons were accidentally sleeping on the premises, and were consumed.

† On the banks of the Ganges.

prust * as their hereditary patrimony, and half of the kingdom of Hustnapoor. The Pandoos gained strength and power daily, while the Kooroos, although they pretended friendship, retained malice in their hearts. At length, the elder brother (Yoodishteer) resolved to celebrate a festival in honour of the gods, at which it was necessary that all the kings of the earth should be present to pay homage to him. Yoodishteer accordingly despatched his brothers to the four corners of the earth; who subdued, and brought to the feast the kings of Khutta, Room, Hubush, Ajum, Arabia, and Toorkistan. † Dooryodhun, having long beheld with envy the rising power of his cousins, could no longer restrain his jealousy, and sought means to subvert their authority. Unable to expel them by force, he determined, if possible, to effect it by stratagem. In those days gambling with dice was a common amusement; and as he knew that the brothers were much addicted to this vice, he resolved, with the assistance of sharpers, to lead them

* Indraprustha, or Indraput. A town of this name still exists on the banks of the Soorswutty river, and I was induced to believe it to be that here alluded to; but my friend, Colonel Tod, whose researches in Hindoo history are so profound, and whose acquaintance with the geography of that part of India is so complete, states that Indraprustha is the ancient appellation for the city of Dehly, an appellation which it received from the Tuar dynasty, in the eighth century of our era, and which race descended in a direct line from the Pandoos; and that, consequently, the Indraprustha in question is the ancient town of Dehly.

† These names are evidently the result of Mahomedan interpolation. No such places are mentioned in the Mahabharut.

on to lose to him their share of the empire. The Pandoos, falling into the snare, lost all they possessed, but their kingdom.

Dooryodhun now proposed one more throw, with a promise, that if he lost, he would restore all he had won, but if the Pandoos lost, they should abandon their country, and wander for twelve years; and on their return it was required, that they should remain concealed for a whole year, without making themselves known, but if discovered, they were again to perform twelve years more penance. The Pandoos lost, and having performed their pilgrimage, on the thirteenth year, they settled in the district of Waee*, a country of the south. Dooryodhun sought throughout the empire, without discovering them, till at the end of the year, the Pandoos sent Krishna, the son of Vasdew, as ambassador to the capital, to claim their kingdom. Dooryodhun, however, refusing to restore it, and the Pandoos having procured a number of the rajas† of India to espouse their cause, attacked the forces of the Kooroos, near Tahnesur, in the beginning of the Kulyoog, when Dooryodhun was killed, and the Kooroos were defeated. The army of the Kooroos consisted of eleven kshoons, and that of the Pandoos of seven. Each kshoon consisting of 21,870 elephants, 21,870 chariots,

* Waee, a town on the banks of the river Krishna, near the fort of Pandooghur, called after the exiled brothers, is situated 20 miles north of the fort of Satara.

† Among these, Veerat Ray, the Raja of Waee, accompanied the Pandoos, and fell in the battle of Koorooket, on the plains of Tahnesur.

65,610 horsemen, and 109,350 foot.* The most extraordinary part of the tale is, that only twelve men† of both armies are said to have survived the battle. These were, four of the Kooroos; the first, Kripa Acharia, a brahmin, the tutor of the cousins, distinguished alike for his courage and his learning. The second, Ashwathama, the son of the philosopher Drone, who fell in the battle; the

* These incredible numbers are reducible by the figure 9, without a fraction, which authorises us to believe that the real numbers have been multiplied by this sacred and mystical figure. Admitting this to be the case, which seems highly probable, the numerical strength of the armies comes within the bounds of rational belief; and if we allow two riders to each elephant and chariot, it furnishes us also with even numbers, and the armies will then stand thus: —

	Elephant Riders.	Charioteers.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Grand Total. Men.
Pandoos, 7 kshoons	3402	3402	5103	8505	20412
Kooroos, 11 kshoons	5346	5346	8019	13365	32076
Grand total of both armies -					52488

By this account the Pandoos would have brought 1701, and the Kooroos 2673 elephants into the field, which however disproportionate they may appear to the number of men in modern times, yet when we consider that the missile weapons of those days did not penetrate easily into the elephant's hide, and that great numbers were used in all battles in India up to the introduction of artillery, the proportion is not so large. Akbur, according to Ferishta, had never more than 6000, but never less than 5000 elephants during the whole of his reign, within the last two centuries; and the Nabob of Luknow has employed 700 on a hunting party, even within the last 40 years.

† With respect to the twelve persons who survived the battle, we must suppose the officers of distinction only are alluded to, whose names are given.

third, Keert Varma, of the family of Yado; and the fourth, Sunjye, the intelligencer of D'hertrashtra, and who acted as his charioteer during the battle. Also eight of the Pandoos, viz. the five Pandoo brothers; sixth, Satik Yado; seventh, Yooyoocha (half brother of Dooryodhun); and eighth, Krishna, who had been employed as ambassador to Dooryodhun, from Waee. With respect to this latter personage, we shall give his history as translated from the Mahabharut.

"The city of Mutra is celebrated as the birth-"place of Krishna. The Hindoos are not all agreed "as to the rank which he holds among the holy "personages. Some respect him as a prophet "only, while others deify him.

"Before the battle of Tahnesur, Raja Kuns, "having heard from his astrologers that Krishna "would put him to death, sought in all directions "to seize him, but he concealed himself, and lived "for eleven years in the house of Nunda, a cow-"keeper, and at last obtained an opportunity of "putting Raja Kuns to death, and of placing "Oogur Sein, the father of Kuns, on the throne, "retaining the management of the government in "his own hands. At length, he caused his subjects "to pay him divine honours, and obtained many "proselytes. It is said, he devoted thirty-two "years of his life to mirth and gaiety, in the city "of Mutra, and the tales related of him are as "marvellous as preposterous.

"The neighbouring rajas, jealous of his power, "resolved to attack him. Among these, Jara-"sundha, the Raja of Bahar, marched with a large

" force from Patna, for that purpose; while on the " west, Kal-Yevun *, a Mlecha † sovereign, al- " though not of the Hindoo persuasion, marched " into India to reduce his power. This prince is " supposed to be of Arabian extraction.) Krishna, " unable to resist the forces of these powers, was " compelled to retreat, and reached Dwarka on " the sea-coast (situated 100 coss ‡ from the pre- " sent city of Ahmudabad), where he was be- " sieged for a period of seventy-eight years, unable " to force his way through his enemies, and at length " he died at the age of one hundred and twenty- " five; while some assert that he is still living in " concealment." But to return to our history: after the battle of Koorooket, and the death of Dooryodhun, the five Pandoos reigned 36 years, and then abdicated their throne, which put an end to the dynasty.

From Raja Kooroo to the death of Pundoo was a period of - -	76 years.
To that of Dooryodhun Kooroo	13 ditto.
To that of Yoodishteer, commonly called Dhurma, Raja Pandoo -	36 ditto.
Total -	125 years.

* The Hindoo books speak of all the westerns as Yevun, whom the Persians call Yoonan. Alexander and his army are designated Yevun by the Hindoos, and Yoonan by the Persians; a corruption, probably, of the word Ionian.

† The word Mlecha signifies barbarian, and was applied to all who did not adopt the rules of caste; as the Romans termed all those " Barbari " who were not Romans.

‡ Two hundred miles. Dwarka is nearly insulated. It is situated near the most extreme point of the district of Hulwad, in Guzerat, and within the entrance of the gulf of Cutch.

Some years after the abdication of the Pandoos, a great grandson of Arjoon Pandoo sat upon the throne, and among other pursuits of literature, being desirous that a history of his family should be written, a person named Vias undertook the work, and compiled the Mahabharut, which is said to mean the great battle; but upon enquiry, I do not find that the word Bharut signifies battle, and I should therefore suppose, that the letter A has been added, and that the Maha-Bhurt signifies the history of the family of Bhurt, the founder of the dynasty of Koowur and Pandoo. Vias also wrote commentaries on the four Vedas, viz. Roog Veda, Yejoor Veda, Athurwun Veda, Siam Veda: the three former works are on philosophy and theology, while the latter (the only one now extant) is a history, and is called Mahabharut, of which 24,000 slogs out of 100,000 are occupied in relating the history of the wars of the Pandoos. The Hindoos, like the Chinese and Tartars, deny the flood of Noah. *

Some of the Hindoos assert, that the tribes of Brahmin and Kshetry existed from time immemorial, but that the Rajpoots are a modern tribe, only known since the beginning of the Kulyoog.

*. Here Ferishta's knowledge of Hindoo cosmography is defective, as their sacred writings distinctly trace a deluge which bears a close and important similitude to that recorded by Moses, though, in the poetical language and style of the Hindoos, it is involved in a puerile description. Swyambhoma, "The Lord of the earth," is warned of the intended destruction of mankind by a flood, and he is directed to provide a bark denominated "*Arga*," into which he enters with seven holy persons besides himself, and the seed of every living thing.

The same is related of many other different tribes. The Rajpoots attained power since the death of Raja Vikramajeet, from whom is derived the present Hindoo era, being something more than 1600 years. The origin of the Rajpoots is thus related. The rajas, not satisfied with their married wives, had frequently children by their female slaves, who, although not legitimate successors to the throne, were styled Rajpoots, or the children of the rajas, and the children of Raja Sŏoruj, whose history we shall now relate, were the first to whom the name of rajpoot was given. The population of India, like that of other parts of the globe, arose from the descendants of Noah. After the flood, Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, began to cultivate the fields for their own subsistence and that of their children.

The first king of whose history we have any information was Krishna; he is not the Krishna of Mutra. This Prince was elected by the voice of the people of Behar; and the first city built in India was the city of Oude. Krishna's prime minister was Bahmun, a native of Bengal. The King, being of gigantic stature, could procure no horse to carry him; he directed, therefore, an elephant to be tamed, on which he used to ride. The plough and reap-rook are ascribed to the invention of Bahmun, who it is said also formed the first alphabet. Having lived 400 years, the King died. He was contemporary with Tahmorasp of Persia. He left thirty-seven sons, of whom Mahraja, his eldest, sat on the throne after him. Mahraja encouraged literature and manufactures; and during

his reign his country became populous, and the inhabitants wealthy. Mahraja divided the people of India into tribes. To the brahmins were allotted the business of letters and the conduct of the affairs of the state; to another tribe, farming; and to a third, manufactures; thus these occupations have descended from father to son. He called the tribes after the chiefs of each; such as Rahtore, Chowhan, Powar, and Beis, &c. Mahraja always maintained a friendly intercourse with the kings of Persia; but Dongur Sein, one of his nephews, having left his court, took protection with Fureedoon, King of Persia, who detached his son Koorshasp with a force to attack Punjab, in order to compel Mahraja to yield some part of his territory to his nephew. The war lasted ten years, when Mahraja was at length reduced to cede a part of his kingdom to Dongur Sein. In the latter part of his reign the zemindars of Shewala * and Carnatic attacked and drove Shiva Ray, his lieutenant, from the Deccan. Mahraja, having sent his eldest son with a large force to reinstate Shiva Ray, and to punish the rebels, the Prince was defeated and slain. Shiva Ray again sought refuge at the court of Mahraja, who was more grieved at the defeat of his army than at the loss of his son; for the princes of the islands of Acheen, and Malacca, and Pegu, and of the Malabar coast, had never before dared to rebel. At this time, also, an attack on the north-west frontier threatened his empire; and being compelled to send his lieute-

* Ceylon.

nant, Malchund of Malwa, to defend the Punjab, he was unprepared at present to carry on the war with the Deccanies. Malchund, unable to stand the brunt of the Persian forces, ceded the Punjab to them in perpetuity, besides making presents of elephants, &c. Some authors, however, relate that Fureedoon even possessed the Punjab; and that the descendants of Koorshasp, down to the celebrated Roostoom, held it in subjection, together with Kabul, Tibhet, Sind, and Nemrooz. On his return Malchund (from whom the country of Malwa derives its name), having marched against the zemindars of the Deccan, who fled at the approach of his army, reinstated Shiva Ray in his government. On this occasion he is said to have built the celebrated fort of Gualiar. The science of music, also, was introduced into Hindoostan by Malchund, who brought it during this expedition from the country of Tullinga. Malchund, long after, resided at Gualiar, and the descendants of the Tullingy musicians spread from that place over the north of India. * Mahraja, after a reign of seven hundred years, died, leaving his eldest son, Kesoo Ray, to succeed him.

* It is a curious fact, that the word Bye, used in the Deccan to signify a genteel woman in general, is applied to professed singing women only in Hindoostan; and that the word Kulwuntin, a professional dancing woman, in the language of the Déccan, is changed into Kulawutin in Hindoostan, and is there also applicable to dancing girls. It must be understood, that throughout this work the word Hindoostan is applied to the country north of the Nerbudda and Mahanudda rivers, while the whole of the peninsula, south of the same line, is included in the word Deccan.

Kesoo Ray, having ascended the throne, detached his brothers in command of armies to make conquests, while he himself, taking the route of Kalpy, entered Gondwana, and marched as far south as Shewala Dweep *; levying tribute on all the rajas through whose country he passed. On his return, however, being attacked by these same rajas, and unable to oppose them successfully, he made overtures for peace, and was permitted to return to his capital without molestation. On his arrival, he despatched an ambassador to the King of Persia, begging his assistance. Munoo Chehr sent Sam, the son of Nureeman, with an army, to support him; and Kesoo Ray having met him with his own troops at Jalundur in the Punjab, proceeded to the Deccan. The rajas, intimidated by the Persian troops, acknowledged allegiance to Kesoo Ray, who having accompanied the Persians as far as the Punjab on their return to Eeran, marched back to Oude, where he reigned for a period of two hundred and twenty years, and was succeeded by his son Munere Ray. The town of Munere is one of the monuments of this prince's reign, which he passed in the encouragement of literature, and in the promotion of the happiness of his subjects. He was, however, guilty of ingratitude towards Persia, in spite of the obligations his father owed to that empire. On the death of Munoo Chehr in Eeran, Afrasiab Toork, King of Tooran, invaded that kingdom; and Munere Ray also having invaded Punjab, seized it for himself from the officers of

* The island of Ceylon.

Zal, the son of Sam, making Jalundur his capital. At the same time, Munere Ray sent an envoy to Afrasiab, acknowledging fealty to him. After this the Punjab remained in possession of the kings of India till the reign of Keikobad, who having deputed Roostoom, the son of Zal, to reconquer that province, Munere Ray was defeated, and not only expelled from the Punjab, but seeking protection among the hills of J'harkund, and Gondwara, he died there after a reign of five hundred and thirty-seven years.

Roostoom having thus conquered India, resolved to prevent any of the sons of Munere Ray from sitting on its throne, on account of their treachery towards Persia; he therefore placed Sooruj, a Hindoo chief, on the musnud, and returned to Persia. Sooruj reigned over Hindoostan; and his authority was acknowledged from the sea of Bengal as far as the Deccan. It is related that it was in his time a brahmin persuaded him to set up idols, and from that period the Hindoos became idolaters, before which they, like the Persians, worshipped the sun and the stars. * The worship of images, how-

* This sentence is very remarkable, and it would be curious to know whence Ferishta derived his information. If the fact he states could be relied on, it would afford us a clew to fix the period when the Ramayan, the Bharut, and the tenth canto of the Bhagwut, losing their simple character as heroic national poems, became identified with the sacred works. There appears every day stronger reason to believe, that the worship of the Bull, the Lingum, and the Yony, is the same as the Phallic worship of Egypt, and that of the Calf and the Pillar, emblematic of Bal or the Sun, by the nations surrounding the Israelites; that this worship is originally founded on Sabæism,

ever, was not introduced in the reign of Sooruj. He was a contemporary, and tributary of Kei-kobad, and had reigned two hundred and fifty years when he died. He gave his sister's daughter in marriage to Roostoom.

Sooruj having left thirty-five sons, Bhay Raja, the eldest, succeeded his father, and built the city of Bhay-raja, commonly called Bhairaich: he was a great admirer of music. Among the public works of his reign is the completion of the city of Benares, the foundation of which was laid by his father. Some are of opinion also that Bhay Raj invested his brothers with the title of Rajpoot, and that he gave distinctive names to some other tribes. He was so impolitic as to abandon the regulations established by Mahraja, so that he became a victim to the enmity of Kedar, a brahmin of the Sewalik mountains, who, attacking and defeating him, eventually obtained the kingdom. Bhay Raja reigned thirty-six years.

Kedar Raja was a man of erudition, and had also seen the world, so that he raised India from the state of depravity into which it had fallen under Bhay Raja. He was contemporary with Kei-Kaoos and Kei-Khoosrow, to whom he used to transmit annual tribute. He laid the foundation and built the fortress of Kalunjur. In the

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and that the emblems are types of the season of fructification. Abundant proof exists in India of the antiquity of the Tauric and Phallic worship over that of idolatry and of demi-god heroes. All the temples of the latter are modern compared with those dedicated to Mahdeva.

latter part of his reign he was attacked by Sunkul, a chieftain of Kooch, who having collected a large force, not only subdued Bung * and Behar, but also attacked Kedar, whom he defeated in several actions, and usurped his empire, after a reign of nineteen years.

Sunkul, having ascended the throne, laid the foundation of Luknowty, in Bengal, since known by the name of Goor or Gowr, which was the capital of the province for 2000 years, but being destroyed in the time of the Mogul empire, Tanda became the seat of government.

Sunkul Raja maintained an army of 4000 elephants, 100,000 horse, and 400,000 foot, and refused to pay tribute to Afrasiab, who sent 50,000 Toorky horse, under the command of Peeranweisa, to attack him. Sunkul Raja, having opposed him in the neighbourhood of the Kooch hills, on the Bengal frontier, two days and nights were occupied in fighting, on which occasion the Toorks lost 13,000 men, and the Hindoos 50,000. On the third day the Toorks retreated, defending themselves till they reached the hills, where they took post, and Peeranweisa wrote to Afrasiab an account of his situation.

At this period, Afrasiab was in the city of Kunukdiz, situated between Khutta and Khootun, and distant one month's journey from Khanbaligh. On hearing from Peeranweisa, he marched at the head of 100,000 horse to his assistance. On his arrival, he found Peeranweisa surrounded by an infinite number of rajas collected from all

* Bengal.

parts. Afrasiab, attacking the Hindoos without delay, dispersed them, and thus released his general from his perilous situation. He then pursued Sunkul Raja to his capital of Luknowty, from whence he fled precipitately to the mountains of Tirhoot. From thence he sent ambassadors to Afrasiab, entreating his forgiveness, and permission to pay his respects to him; but he was required to appear before the great king with a sword suspended round his neck, and a shroud on his shoulders. Afrasiab, having carried Sunkul Raja to Tooran, left his country under the government of Sunkul Raja's son. Sunkul remained with Afrasiab many years, but was at last slain in action, by the hand of Roostoom. His reign lasted during a period of sixty-four years.

When Afrasiab returned to Tooran, he conferred the government of India on Rohut, the son of Sunkul Raja. His kingdom extended from Gurhy as far as Malwa, the revenues of which he divided into three equal portions. One he gave in charity; of another, part was sent to his father, and part as tribute to Afrasiab; while the remainder was applied to the support of his government. This portion of his revenue being insufficient for his protection, the Raja of Malwa wrested out of his hands the strong fortress of Gualiar. Rohut Ray, who built the fortress of Rohutas (Rohtas), and beautified it with temples, took the field, in hopes of recovering Gualiar, but was obliged eventually to withdraw without attaining his object.

He kept his court usually at Kunowj, where he reigned for a period of eighty years, when he died. Raja Rohut leaving no male issue of age, a revolution took place, in which Mahraja, a person of the tribe of Kutchwaha, from the district of Marwar, succeeded in placing himself on the throne. He attacked Nehrwala *, and having reduced the zemindars of those parts (who were chiefly shepherds), laid the foundation of some sea-ports, and caused ships of different sizes to be constructed. Mahraja II. was contemporary with Gooshtasp, and reigned forty years, during which time he paid annual tribute to Persia. Mahraja was succeeded at his death by his nephew, Kedar Raja, whom he made his heir by his last testament. During this reign, Roostoom being slain, Kedar attacked, and wrested from his descendants, the Punjab. Having remained some time in the town of Behera †, he built the fortress of Jummoo, where he left Doorga, one of his relations, of the tribe of Boolbas, which tribe has inhabited that country ever since. Doorga having contracted alliances with the Gukkurs and Chowbea, the ancient zemindars of the Punjab, as also with the people who reside in the hills between Kabul and Kandahar, marched against Kedar Raja, who fled from the Punjab. These tribes, who were before separate, now formed one powerful state, and I imagine they are those

* Puttun in Goojrat.

† This town, situated in the Gara, is often mentioned in early history; and in the first invasion of the Moslems it belonged to Goga Chowhan.

whom we call Afghans.* Kedar Raja reigned forty-three years.

After the death of Kedar Raja, his minister, Jye Chund, who was also generalissimo of the army, usurped the throne. His accession was followed by a severe dearth, which carried off thousands of his subjects, whom he by no means attempted to relieve in their distress, but spent his time in gaiety at the city of Byana. After a reign of sixty years, he died. He was contemporary with Bahmun and Darab. Jye Chund left an infant son, whom his widow raised to the throne, and who would have ruled the empire in his name; but Dehloo, the uncle of the young king, aided by the nobles, having deposed him, ascended the musnud. This prince, as famous for his justice as for his valour devoted his time to the good of his subjects, and built the city of Dehly. After having reigned only four years, P'hoor, a Raja of Kumaoon, collecting a considerable force, attacked Dehloo, took him prisoner, and sent him into confinement in the fort of Rohtas, himself usurping the empire. Raja P'hoor pushed on his conquests through Bung, as far as the ocean, and having collected a great army, refused to pay tribute to the kings of Persia. The brahminical and other historians are agreed that P'hoor† marched his army to the frontiers of India, in order to oppose the progress of Alexander, on which occasion P'hoor lost his life in battle, after having reigned seventy-three years.

* It does not appear on what grounds Ferishta founds this opinion.

† Porus.

At this period, also, the Rajas of Deccan having become powerful, established their independence. Among others, was Koolchund, the founder of Koolburga; Merchund, the founder of Mirch; Beejychund, the founder of Beejanuggur; besides many others whose names would only serve to swell out this work.

It is related, that when Alexander the Great came into India, Raja Bidur (the founder of the city of that name, and the chief of a tribe whose descendants are celebrated to this day in the Deccan for their bravery), häving heard of the fame of the Greek monarch, sent his son as ambassador, with a number of elephants and other valuables to him, to prevent his invading the Deccan. After the death of P'hoor, Sunsar Chund* made himself master of the empire of India, but sent an annual tribute to Goodurz, king of Persia: his country was usurped by Joona, the nephew of P'hoor. Joona is described as a liberal prince, who promoted the cultivation of the arts, and built many towns on the banks of the Ganges and Jumna. He was contemporary with Ardsheer Babegan, who invaded India; but being met by Joona with valuable presents of gold and elephants on the frontier, Ardsheer was induced to withdraw his army. Joona, returning to Kunowj, died, after a reign of ninety years.

He was succeeded by the eldest of his twenty-two sons, named Kullian Chund, a cruel and despotic prince, who put his subjects to death without cause

* He is also called Chandragoopta, supposed to be the Sandracottus of the Greeks.

or remorse. The unfortunate inhabitants of his kingdom, flying from his tyranny, left the city of Kunowj a mere ruin. After him, no raja of consequence reigned in Kunowj, excepting Ramdew, whose history will shortly be related. As I shall not confine my account of the rajas of Hindoostan to the dynasty of Kunowj, I now proceed to that of Malwa, and of the celebrated Vikramajeet Powar.

The history of Vikramajeet, the most illustrious and virtuous sovereign of his age, has been transmitted to posterity in the legends which still remain among his countrymen. It is said that he passed the early part of his life among holy men, affecting poverty, and performing penance. At the age of fifty he assumed the command of an army, and in the course of a few years conquered the whole country of Nehrwala * and Malwa, over which he ruled with justice. The Hindoos are of opinion, that he was inspired, and could foretell coming events: he avoided all display of pomp, living in the same manner as his subjects, using earthen utensils instead of gold, and sleeping on a mat instead of a bed. Oojein became well inhabited during his reign, on account of the idol dedicated to Mahkaly which he set up in that city. He also built the fort of D'har. From the death of Vikramajeet, the Hindoos date one of their eras, which at the present day is 1663, answering to the year 1015 of the Hijra. He was contemporary with Ardsheer Babegan, and some say with Shahpoor. In the latter end of his reign, Shalivhan, a raja of the Deccan, making war with him, several

* Nehrwala here seems to imply Guzerat in general.

battles ensued, in the last of which, Vikramajeet lost his kingdom and his life. After his death Malwa long remained in a state of anarchy, till at length Raja Bhoj, setting up pretensions to the throne, assumed the reigns of government. Raja Bhoj, also of the tribe of Powar, followed the steps of his predecessor Vikramajeet. He founded many towns, among which are those of Kurgone, Beejygur, and Hundia. Twice yearly he kept a great feast which lasted forty days; during which, all the most celebrated dancers and singers of Hindoostan being assembled, he distributed food and wine; and at the end of the feast, new clothes, and ten miskals * were presented to each guest. He died after a reign of forty years. At this period, one Vasdew, seizing on the province of Kunowj, established himself in that principality. During his reign, Beiramgoor, King of Persia, came to the court of Kunowj in disguise. While at the capital a wild elephant in the neighbourhood had done much mischief, having killed many people, who went out to attack him. Among others, Vasdew himself had often gone out for the same purpose without success. Shortly after the arrival of Beiramgoor, the same elephant, penetrating to the very gates of the city, caused much alarm: the Persian prince ran alone to the spot, and with a single arrow laid him dead at his feet. Raja Vasdew requested that the stranger who had killed the elephant might be brought to him. As he was entering the court, the Indian ambassador, who had just returned from Persia, whither he had con-

* Of gold, probably.

veyed the annual tribute, recognising the King of Persia, informed Vasdew of the circumstance. The Raja, descending from his throne, seated the stranger upon it, and after giving him his daughter in marriage, furnished him with a suitable escort, which attended him back to Persia. Vasdew died after reigning seventy years; during which time the fort of Kalpy was built. He left thirty-two sons, who disputed the succession with each other for two years: the throne was at length ascended by Ramdew Rahtore, the general of the late Vasdew. Having reduced the rebellious officers and rajas of his country, Ramdew marched to the province of Marwar, from whence he expelled the tribe of Kutchwaha, and established that of Rahtore, which has remained there ever since; while that of Kutchwaha removed to the neighbourhood of Rohtas. On his return to Kunowj, he marched against Bengal, and taking possession of the capital, he obtained great treasures, after having been absent from Kunowj for three years.

Four years after this event, proceeding to Malwa, he reduced it, and built many towns and cities in that kingdom; among which was Nurwur, where having left a garrison of rahtories, he deputed an embassy to Shew Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur, soliciting his daughter in marriage. That Prince, dreading the power of Ramdew, sent her with valuable presents, along with the ambassador. Ramdew remained for two years in peace and happiness, after which, attacking the rajas of Sewalik, he extorted from them annual tribute. In that war, Ramdew was opposed by the Raja of Ku-

maoon (who inherited his country and crown from a long line of ancestors that had ruled upwards of 2000 years): a sanguinary battle took place, which lasted during the whole of one day, from sunrise to sunset, wherein many thousands were slain on both sides; till at length the Raja of Kumaoon was defeated with the loss of all his elephants and treasures, and fled to the hills. Ramdew having subsequently compelled his enemy to give him his daughter in marriage, left him in possession of his country, and marching towards Nugrakote, plundered it, and at length arrived at a place called Shewkote Pindy *, where (on account of his veneration for the idol Doorga, which is situated at a small distance on the top of a neighbouring hill at Nagrakote,) he halted, and summoned the raja to appear before him. The Raja would by no means consent, but agreed to meet Ramdew at the temple, wherein the idol was placed. Thus the two princes met at the temple, when the Raja having given his daughter in marriage to the son of Ramdew, the latter proceeded from thence to the fort of Jummoo. The Raja of Jummoo opposed him in the woods, but was eventually defeated. Ramdew pursued him to the fort of Jummoo, which he attacked, and subdued. At length the Raja consented to become tributary, and gave his daughter to another of Ramdew's sons. Ramdew being then in the vicinity of the Behut, a river which takes its rise in the hilly tract of Kashmeer, and flows through the territory of the Punjab, proceeded through

* This place is written differently in various manuscripts, and is not down in any of the maps I have consulted.

Bengal as far as the sea-shore, where the Sewalik * mountains have their termination.

Ramdew was employed five months in making the journey, having subjected, during that period, upwards of five hundred rajas, after which he returned to his capital, where he gave presents to his soldiers, and celebrated a feast on the occasion. Ramdew reigned for upwards of fifty-four years, and then died: he was contemporary with Feroze, the Sassanian, whose son Keikobad succeeded him, to both of which monarchs annual tribute was paid by India. After the death of Ramdew, his numerous sons all disputing the succession, civil wars ensued. Purtab Chund, the general of Ramdew, of the tribe of Sesodia, taking advantage of these events, and collecting a force, ascended the throne, in spite of the endeavours of the princes, whom he seized and put to death, and thus established his authority. Having raised himself to the same elevation as his predecessor, Purtab Chund refused to pay tribute to Persia, and the ambassador of Nowsherwan returned empty-handed. In consequence of this defection, the Persian troops invaded Mooltan and Punjab; and Purtab Chund sent peace-offerings both to the generals and to the Persian King himself, to prevent further devastation. From this, he transmitted the annual tribute as usual. After the death of Purtab Chund each of his generals seized on a province; while his progeny, flying from Kunowj, occupied a small tract of country in the hills of Koombulmere, in the

* The term Sewalik seems synonymous with Himalaya.

neighbourhood of Chittoor and Mundsoor; the descendants of whom at present hold it in sovereignty. They are distinguished by the appellation of Rana, significant of a petty prince.*

Among the other generals and rajas who became powerful after the death of Purtab Chund, was Anund-dew Rajpoot, of the tribe of Beis. Having collected a large force in Malwa, he conquered the countries of Nehrwala and Marhatt, in the Deccan. He built also the forts of Ramgir and Mahoor in Berar, as well as the fort of Mando in Malwa. He lived in the age of Khoosrow Purvees, and died after a reign of sixteen years.

At this time a Hindoo named Maldew, having collected a force in the Dooab, attacked and seized the cities of Dehly and Kunowj. He made the latter city his residence, which attained a condition so flourishing that it has seldom been equalled An idea of its population may be formed, when it is stated that Kunowj contained 30,000 shops for the sale of pan †, and 60,000 families of public dancers and singers. After having reigned forty-two years, Maldew died; but leaving no sons fit to succeed him, anarchy and civil war every where prevailed. From that time till the Mahomedan invasion no single raja ruled over India; for when

* The Sisodia family, the head of which is styled Rana, still reigns over Chittoor and Oodypoor; and its descendants have given rajas to the principalities of Dongurpoor and Purtabghur. — Vide Sir J. Malcolm's Report on Malwa, vol. i. pp. 504—506. Ferishta is in error when he asserts that Rana signifies a petty prince: it always has been borne by the highest Hindoo kings, and is distinctive of pre-eminence.

† Pan, an aromatic leaf, much eaten by the Indians.

Sooltan Mahmood Ghizny invaded it, the country was divided into principalities, as follows:

Kunowj	-	Koowur Raj.
Meerut	-	Hurdut Raj.
Mahavun *	-	Goolchunder Ray.
Lahore	-	Jeipal, the son of Hutpal.

Thus also Malwa, Guzerat, Ajmeer, Gualiar, &c. had each separate rajas.

* A village on the left bank of the Jumna, about ten miles below Mutra, is supposed to be the spot here alluded to.

HISTORY

OF THE

MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

The Arabians proceed towards Persia. — Progress through Kirman, Seestan, Kohistan, and Nyshapoor. — Settlement in Khorassan, Murv, Badghees, and Joorjistan. — Attempt by Karoon, a Persian chieftain, to recover Khorassan, defeated by Abdoolla Bin Jazim. — Abdoolla Bin Zeead enters Transoxania — is recalled, and succeeded by his brother Sulim Bin Zeead. — Sulim is accompanied by Mohalib Bin Aby Sufra. — Kabul revolts from the Moslems, who are expelled. — Sulim recovers Kabul, and appoints one Abdoolla to the government. — Abdoolla superseded, and retires among the Afghans of the Soolimany mountains — becomes the father of Lody and Soor, from whom two Afghan tribes derive their name. — The Afghans make war on the Hindoo Prince of Lahore. — The Gukkurs form a treaty with the Afghans. — The Raja of Lahore cedes country to the Gukkurs to defend his territory from the invasions of the Afghans.

The first chieftain who spread the banners of the true faith on the plains of Hind was Mohalib * Bin Aby Sufra.

A. H. 28. A. D. 648. In the 28th year of the Hijra, shortly after the accession of the Caliph Oothman, that prince deputed Abdoolla Bin Amir, governor of Bussora, to reduce the province of Fars, which had revolted since the death of the Caliph Oomur. Abdoolla having succeeded in quelling the insurrection, returned to Bussora.

Two years after this event, the Caliph Oôthman removed Wuleed Bin Atiba from the government of Koofa on account of his licentious excesses, and appointed Syeed Bin Aby-ool-Aas governor in his stead. Syeed shortly after led an army through Persia as far as Tubristan; on which occasion he was accompanied by Hussun and Hoossein, the two sons of Ally, and by their exertions he reduced the province of Joorjan, the capital of which is Astrabad, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, and received from the inhabitants, whom he converted to the true faith, a contribution of two hundred thousand deenars.

* The Mohalibees were a race of princes descended from this chieftain, which ruled over Laristan and Ormuz, in the caliphat of the Omyades of Syria. They at last revolted from Yezeed II., were defeated, and lost their government.

Bin Shanah, an Arabian poet, has celebrated the valour and munificence of the Mohalibees, and both Abool Furrah of Isfahan and Abool Fida mention one Mahomed Mohaliby in their works. Vide D'Herbelot, Bib. Ori. art. Mohaleb.

A.H. 31. A.D. 651. On the following year, Abdoolla Bin Ãmir was again deputed to lead an army into Kirman, and eventually into Khorassan. His advanced guard, under the command of Huneef Bin Keis, subdued the provinces of Seestan, Kohistan, and Nyshapoor. At the latter place, Abdoolla was joined by the Prince of Toos, and from thence proceeded to reduce Surukhsh, Hirat, Badghees, Ghoor, Joorjistan, Murv, Talikhan, and Bulkh.

After these successes Abdoolla quitted the army and proceeded to Mecca, making the following distribution of the conquered provinces amongst his respective generals:—

To Keis, the son of Hashem, — Khorassan.

To Huneef, the son of Keis, — Murv, Talikhan, and Nyshapoor.

To Khalid, the son of Abdoolla, — Badghees, Goor, and Joorjistan.

A.H. 32. A.D. 652. In the year 32, Abdool Rahman Bin Rubeea was deputed from Bagdad to Persia to propagate the true faith; but being overpowered by numbers, he was slain and his army dispersed; many of his followers sought protection in Joorjan and Geelan. In the same year, Karoon, one of the nobles of the Persian government, having learned that Abdoolla had gone to Mecca, and had divided his army over the several conquered provinces, collected a body of forty thousand men composed of the inhabitants of Tubus, Herat, Badghees, Ghoor, and Kohistan, and marched against the Moslem forces. Karoon was, however, defeated by Abdoolla Bin Jazim,

one of the officers of Huneef, in Nyshapoor, with an inconsiderable body of four thousand men, for which service Abdoolla received the charge of the government of Khorassan.

A. H. 44. A. D. 664. In the year 44, the Caliph Moavia Bin Aby Soofian nominated Zeead, the son of Oomya, to the government of Bussora, Seestan, and Khorassan. In the same year also Abdool Ruhman Bin Shimur, another Arab Ameer of distinction, marched from Murv to Kabul, where he made converts of upwards of twelve thousand persons. At the same time, also, Mohalib Bin Aby-Suffra, proceeding with a detachment from thence, in the direction of India, penetrated as far as Mooltan; when, having plundered the country, he returned to the head-quarters of the army at Khorassan, bringing with him many prisoners, who were compelled to become converts to the faith.

A. H. 53. A. D. 672. In the year 53, Zeead, the son of Oomyah, died at Bussorah of the plague, which now made its appearance in that city. Before that Moavia, however, had heard of his death, he nominated Abdoolla, the son of Zeead, to the government of Koofa, who, proceeding with an army through Persia to Mawur-oolnuhr, partly reduced it. Being now recalled from his conquests to fill the stations lately held by his father as governor of Bussorah, Abdoolla proceeded thither, leaving his relative Salim Bin Zoora in the government of Khorassan.

A. H. 56. A. D. 678. Three years after this, Salim was superseded by Saad, Bin Oothman Bin Iffan now appointed governor of Khorassan by

the Caliph Moavia. Saad was recalled in the year 59, and Abdool Ruhman, the son of
A. H. 59. A. D. 681. Zeead, who formerly invaded Kabul, was nominated ruler of Khorassan. He was, subsequently, removed to make room for Sulim Bin-Zeead, in the year 62, by Yezeed, the
A. H. 62. A. D. 683. son of Moavia, who had then succeeded to the Caliphate. Among the persons who accompanied Sulim to his new government was Mohalib, the son of Aby-Suffra. Shortly after his arrival in Khorassan, Sulim deputed his brother, Yezeed Bin Zeead, to Seestan. Not long after, Yezeed, having learned that the Prince of Kabul, throwing off his allegiance, had attacked and taken prisoner Aby Oobeyda, the son of Zeead, the late governor of Seestan, he marched with a force to recover that province, but was defeated in a pitched battle. When Sulim heard this news, he sent Tilla Bin Abdoolla, an officer of his court, as envoy to the court of Kabul, to ransom Aby Oobeyda; to obtain which object he paid 500,000 dirhems. Tilla afterwards received the government of Seestan as a reward for his services on this occasion, where, having collected a large force, he subdued Kabul, and Khalid Bin Abdoolla (said by some to be the son of Khalid Bin Wuleed, and by others the son of Aboo Jehl) was nominated to its government. Khalid being subsequently superseded, became apprehensive of returning to Arabia by the route of Persia, on account of the enemies he had in that country, and equally so of remaining in Kabul, under his successor. He retired, therefore, with his family,

and a number of Arab retainers, into the Soolimany mountains, situated between Mooltan and Pishawur, where he took up his residence, and gave his daughter in marriage to one of the Afghan chiefs, who had become a proselyte to Mahomedism. From this marriage many children were born, among whom were two sons famous in history. The one Lody, the other Soor; who each, subsequently, became head of the tribes which to this day bear their name.

I have read in the Mutla-ool-Anwar *, a work written by a respectable author, and which I procured at Boorhanpoor, a town of Kandeish in the Dekkan, that the Afghans are Copts of the race of the Pharaohs; and that when the prophet Moses got the better of that infidel who was overwhelmed in the Red Sea, many of the Copts became converts to the Jewish faith; but others, stubborn and self-willed, refusing to embrace the true faith, leaving their country, came to India, and eventually settled in the Soolimany mountains, where they bore the name of Afghans. At the time when Abraha marched against Mecca, he was accompanied by several tribes of infidels from far and near, and, on that occasion, a body of these

* This is one of many works to which Ferishta alludes, but whose names are not included among those from which he drew the materials of this history. I have in vain searched for the Mutla-ool-Anwar in India; for the fact quoted in this place might be more explicit in the original, and lead to important conclusions regarding the dispersion of the Jewish host after it left Egypt.

Afghans*, it is said, also joined his forces. These tribes were eventually annihilated.

At the time of the settlement of Abdoolla, the Afghans, already converts to the true faith, received the Mahomedans among them, whose flocks and herds increased; and their agriculture flourished so rapidly, that in a few years afterwards, at the time of the invasion of Sind and Mooltan by Mahomed Kassim, they afforded protection to his followers who remained with them. In the year 63, A.H. 63. A.D. 682. the Mahomedan Afghans, issuing from their mountains, invaded and laid waste the inhabited countries, such as Kirman, Sheewuran, and Pishawur. The Raja of Lahore, who was related to the Ray† of Ajmeer, sent 1000 horse to attack and annihilate these marauders; but the former being defeated with severe loss, the Raja despatched his nephew with a force of 2000 horse and 5000 infantry to make a second endeavour to expel them.

The Afghans having procured reinforcements from Khulij, Ghoor, and Kabul, to the number of four thousand men, marched against the Indian forces. The two armies fought, in the five ensuing months, seventy actions; but the winter setting in severely, the Indians were compelled to retreat to Lahore, an object which they effected with great difficulty. In the following spring the Indians again took the field, under their

* By this is meant evidently the race of Copts which refused to become converts to the Jewish or true faith.

† The terms Ray and Raja will be found to be synonymous throughout the work.

former general. The Afghans met them on a plain between Kirman and Pishawur, where several indecisive actions took place, till at length the rainy season being about to commence, the Indians took the opportunity of a temporary advantage which they had gained over the Afghans to retreat by forced marches, so as to cross the Neelab while yet fordable. The same cause also induced the Mahomedans to return within their frontiers. About this period some disputes arising between the Gukkurs* and the Raja of Lahore, this race formed a treaty of alliance, defensive and offensive with the Afghans, who compelled the Raja of Lahore to submit to terms from the Gukkurs, to whom he could otherwise himself have dictated conditions.

This treaty included the cession of certain territories in perpetuity to the Gukkurs, and to the tribe of Khullij, which was permitted by the Afghans to reside in the country of Lumghan; it was secretly provided, also, that they should protect the Indian frontier from the Mahomedan invasions. The Mahomedan Afghans, notwithstanding, still continued their depredations, and advanced near Pishawur, where they erected a fort in the hills to which they gave the name of Khybur, subduing at the same time the province of Roh. This district extends from Swad and Beejowr, on the north, as far south as Seewy near Bhukkur in

* Mr. Elphinstone mentions this race of people, whom he encountered on his return from Kabul in the Punjab. Elph. Kabul, Introduction, p. 78.

Sind; and from east to west from Hussun-Abdall to Kabul and Kandahar.

During the reign of the Samany kings, the Afghans formed a barrier between the kingdom of Mooltan and Lahore, and thus we find the Samany troops always limited their predatory excursions to Sind and Tatta. When the government of Ghizny devolved on Aluptugeen, his general, Subooktugeen frequently invaded the provinces of Mooltan and Lumghan, carrying away its inhabitants as slaves, in spite of the efforts of the Afghans. Jeipal, the Raja of Lahore, concerted measures with the Bhattia * Raja, and being convinced that his troops were unable to withstand the inclemency of the northern climate so as to retaliate on the invaders, concerted measures with the Bhattia Raja to obtain the services of Sheikh Humeed, Afghan, who being appointed governor of Mooltan and Lumghan, placed garrisons of Afghan troops in those districts.

From that period the Afghans became military chiefs. On the death of Aluptugeen, Subooktugeen succeeded to his power; and Sheikh Humeed perceiving that his own country would, in all probability, suffer in the incursions with which Subooktugeen threatened India, united himself with that prince.

Subooktugeen, from motives of policy, avoided the districts of Sheikh Humeed by every means in his power; but his son Mahmood, on the contrary,

* He was one of the princes tributary to the Raja of Lahore; his capital was Bhutnere, — Bulneer of Arrowsmith.

made furious war against the Afghans, putting to death all who did not acknowledge his supremacy, by which means he eventually compelled the whole of the tribes to submit to him.

HISTORY

OF THE

MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF LAHORE, BETTER KNOWN BY THE TITLE OF GHIZNIVIDES.

AMEER NASIR-OOD-DEEN SUBOOKTUGEEN.

Nasir-ood-Deen Subooktugeen, ruler of Ghizny, a dependency of the kingdom of Bokhara, governed by the dynasty of Samany. — Subooktugeen makes war with Jeipal, Raja of the Punjab. — Peace concluded. — Jeipal imprisons the Moslem ambassadors. — War renewed. — Battle of Lumghan, in which the Hindoos are defeated and pursued to the Indus. — Death of Abool Munsoor Sumany, King of Bokhara. — His son Nooh ascends the throne. — Fâïk, one of his generals, creates a revolt. — Subooktugeen unites with the King of Bokhara to oppose him. — Fâïk finds an ally in Boo-Ally-Hussun Bin Sunjur, ruler of Khorassan, and also in Fukhr-ood-Dowla, Delimy of Joorjan. — Fâïk and his allies march against the King of Bokhara and Subooktugeen, but the former are defeated. — Mahmood, the son of Subooktugeen is left at Nyshapoor. — Fâïk and the allies attack Mahmood, who is only saved from defeat by the timely arrival of his father. — Fâïk flies to Kilat in Seestan. — Death of Subooktugeen. — His character.

ALTHOUGH Ameer Nasir-ood-deen Subooktugeen neither crossed the Indus nor subdued any part

of Punjab, all writers include him in the dynasty of the kings of Lahore. Historians affirm that Ameer Subooktugeen, who afterwards acquired the title of Nasir-ood-deen, was a Toork by descent. He was educated, and taught the use of arms, among the other slaves of Aluptugeen. During the reign of the house of Samany *, Aluptugeen was honoured with the government of Khorassan, where having raised himself to distinction, on the death of Abdool Mullik Samany, the nobles sent a deputation to consult him regarding a successor. Aluptugeen hesitated not to oppose the accession of the Prince Munsoor on the plea of his being too young, recommending that his uncle should for the present assume the reins of government. Before his answer arrived, a party at the capital had raised Munsoor to the throne, and, consequently, when the young king sent for Aluptugeen to court, he, being apprehensive for his life, made excuses, and neglected to appear. In the year 351 he broke out into open rebellion, and marched to Ghizny, which he subdued, and there established an independent power.

A.H. 351. A.D. 962.

Munsoor hearing of this defection, conferred the government of Khorassan on Abool-Hussun Mahomed, the son of Ibrahim Sunjur, Toorkoman, and twice sent armies to attack Aluptugeen, which were on both occasions defeated.

* This dynasty reigned over Transoxania, holding its court at Bokhara. Its power extended over Khwaruzm, Marvur-oolnehr, Joorjan, Khorassan, Seewustan, and Ghizny.

According to the narrative of Ahmud-oolla Moostowfy, Aluptugeen retained his independence fifteen years, during which period his general, Subooktugeen, being engaged in frequent wars with the Indians, as often defeated them. Aluptugeen died in the year 365, and his son Aboo-Isaac, accompanied by Subooktugeen, proceeded to Bokhara. At this time Aboo-Isaac received a formal commission from Munsoor, as governor of Ghizny; and Subooktugeen was also appointed by the king his deputy and provisional successor. Aboo-Isaac survived this event but a short period, when Subooktugeen, in the year 367, was unanimously acknowledged king by the chiefs of Ghizny.

A. H. 365. A. D. 975.

A. H. 367. A. D. 977.

On this occasion, also, he espoused the daughter of Aluptugeen, and became as celebrated for his justice in the administration of his affairs as for the great popularity he acquired among his subjects, of all conditions.

Minhaj-oos-Siraj Joorjany has given the following account of Subooktugeen's origin:—"A merchant of the name of Nusr-Hajy having purchased Subooktugeen while yet a boy, brought him from Toorkistan to Bokhara, where he was sold to Aluptugeen, who, perceiving in him the promise of future greatness, raised him by degrees to posts of confidence and distinction, till, at length, on his establishing his independence at Ghizny, he conferred on him the title of Ameer-ool-Omra (chief of the nobles), and also that of Vakeel-i-Mootluk, or "Representative." Subooktugeen is said to be lineally descended from Yezdijerd (the last of the

Persian monarchs), who, when flying from his enemies during the Caliphate of Oothman, was murdered at a water-mill near the town of Murv. His family being left in Toorkistan formed connections among the people, and his descendants became Toorks. His genealogy is as follows:—Subooktugeen, the son of Jookan, the son of Kuzil-Hukum, the son of Kuzil-Arslan, the son of Ferooz, the son of Yezdijird, king of Persia.* Soon after Subooktugeen had assumed the ensigns of royalty, he had nearly lost his life by the hands of one Toghan, an independent chief, on the confines of the province of Ghizny. Toghan had lately been restored to his government (from which he had been expelled by one of his neighbours), on condition that he should hold it of the crown of Ghizny. But he failed in his allegiance. Subooktugeen, while making a circuit of his dominions, came to this chief's province, where, having invited him to the chase, and being alone, he upbraided him with his breach of faith. Toghan, feeling the reproof bitterly, put his hand on his sword, the king drew his in self-defence; a combat ensued, in which Subooktugeen was wounded in the hand, and his attendants interfering, as well as those of Toghan, an action took place, wherein Toghan being defeated, fled to the fort of Boost. The fort was besieged and taken, but Toghan effected his escape.

It was here the king became acquainted with Abool Futteh, the most learned man of his day.

* Thus we have but five generations to Subooktugeen from the death of Yezdijerd, a number too scanty to extend over a period of 320 years.

He was originally secretary to the chief of Boost *, whom Subooktugeen had expelled in favour of the ungrateful Toghan. Abool Futteh now became secretary to Subooktugeen, and continued in his office at Ghizny till the accession of Mahmood, when he retired in disgust to Toorkistan.

Subooktugeen, having reduced the fortress of Boost, marched to Kandahar, and conquered that province; the governor of which place, although made prisoner, was afterwards enrolled among the officers of the Ghizny court. Towards the close of the first year of his reign, the King, resolving on a war with the idolaters of India, marched in that direction, and having taken certain forts, caused mosques to be built, and then returned with considerable spoil to Ghizny.

A. H. 367.
A. D. 977.

Jeipal, the son of Hutpal, of the Brahmin tribe, reigned at that time over the country, extending in length from Surhind to Lumghan, and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmeer to Moultan. He resided in the fort of Bitunda for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Mahomedans; and finding, by their reiterated invasions, that he was unlikely to enjoy tranquillity at home, he raised a great army, and brought together numerous elephants, with a design to attack them in their own country. Subooktugeen, receiving intelli-

* Boost, at present the capital of Zabulistan, is a considerable and well-built city: the country round it is pleasant and fertile; and being situated on the confines of India and Persia, it drives a considerable trade with both countries. It lies in 32° north lat.

gence of Jeipal's intentions, marched another force towards India. The two armies coming in sight of each other, on the confines of Lumghan, some skirmishes ensued, and Mahmood, the son of Subooktugeen, though then but a boy, gave signal proofs of his valour and conduct.

Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmood, that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring, into which, if a mixture of ordure should be thrown the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful storm of hail and wind arise. Mahmood having caused this to be done, the effects became visible; for instantly the sky lowered, and thunder, lightning, wind, and hail succeeded, turning the day into night, and spreading horror and destruction around; insomuch that a great part of the cattle was killed, and some thousands of the soldiers of both armies perished. But the troops of Ghizny being more hardy than those of Hindoostan, suffered less than their enemies. Jeipal in the morning found his army so dispersed and dejected from the effects of the storm, that, fearing Subooktugeen would take advantage of his condition to attack him, he made overtures for peace, in which he offered to pay to the king of Ghizny a certain tribute, and to propitiate him with presents of elephants and gold.

Subooktugeen was disposed to accede to these proposals, but his son Mahmood prevailed with his father to reject them. Jeipal now sent other ambassadors to explain to Subooktugeen the customs of the Indian soldiers, particularly the

rajpoots, who, if driven to desperation," said he, "murder their wives and children, set fire to their houses and property, let loose their hair, and rushing on the enemy, are heedless of death, in order to obtain revenge."

Subooktugeen, convinced of the truth of Jeipal's statement, consented to terms. Jeipal agreed to pay a large sum in specie, and to deliver to Subooktugeen fifty elephants. Unable to discharge the whole sum in camp, Jeipal desired that persons, on the part of Subooktugeen, should accompany him to Lahore, to receive the balance; for whose safety hostages were left with Subooktugeen. On reaching Lahore, finding Subooktugeen had returned to Ghizny, at the instance of his Braminical advisers, Jeipal refused payment, and imprisoned the persons left to receive the money.

It was then customary among the Rajas, in affairs of moment, to assemble a council consisting of an equal number of the most respectable brahmins, who sat on the right of the throne, and of the noblest Kshetries, who sat on the left. The Kshetries perceiving that Jeipal meditated so impolitic a measure represented to him the fatal consequences of this step. "The troops," said they, "have not yet forgotten the terrors of the enemy's "arms, and Jeipal may rest assured that Subook-"tugeen will not brook such an insult without a "dreadful revenge."

The opinion of the council was that he should comply strictly with the terms of the treaty, that

the people might enjoy the blessings of tranquillity. But the King remained obstinate, and refused to attend to their advice. Intelligence of the restraint put on his officers reaching the ear of Subooktugeen, like a foaming torrent he hastened with his army towards Hindoostan.

Jeipal also, having collected his troops, marched forth to oppose him. It is related, that on this occasion the neighbouring Rajas supplied troops and money, particularly those of Dehly, Ajmeer, Kalunjur, and Kunowj, whose forces having united in the Punjab, the whole composed an army of a hundred thousand horse, besides an innumerable host of foot.

The two armies having met on the confines of Lumghan, Subooktugeen ascended a hill to view the forces of Jeipal, which appeared in extent like the boundless ocean, and in number like the ants or the locusts of the wilderness. But Subooktugeen considered himself as a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep: calling, therefore, his chiefs together, he encouraged them to glory, and issued to each his commands. His soldiers, though few in number, were divided into squadrons of five hundred men each, which were directed to attack successively, one particular point of the Hindoo line, so that it might continually have to encounter fresh troops.

The Hindoos, being worse mounted than the cavalry of Subooktugeen, were unable to withstand them, and, wearied out by the manœuvre just mentioned, began to give way. Subooktugeen perceiving their disorder, made a general assault:

the Hindoos were every where defeated, and fled, and were pursued, with great slaughter, to the banks of the Neelab. Subooktugeen acquired in this action both fame and wealth, for, besides the rich plunder of the Indian camp, he levied heavy contributions on the countries of Lumghan and Pishawur, including all the territory west of the Neelab; causing himself to be acknowledged king over that country, and appointing one of his officers, with ten thousand horse, to the government of Pishawur.

The Afghans and Khiljies * who resided among the mountains having taken the oath of allegiance to Subooktugeen, many of them were enlisted in his army, after which he returned in triumph to Ghizny.

Abool Munsoor, king of Bokhara, died about this time, and his son Nooh the Sixth, of the house of Samany, sat upon the throne. Being attacked by one Fâïk, a rebel chief, Abool Nusr Farsy was deputed from Bokhara to Subooktugeen, to beg his assistance. Subooktugeen, influenced by gratitude to the house of Samany, hastened with his army towards Mavur-ool-Nehr, while Nooh advanced to the country of Suruksh to meet him. Subooktugeen sent a messenger to Nooh, requesting that on account of his age and infirmities, he might be excused from dismounting when they met. On advancing, however, and recognising

* A Tartar horde or family, which appears to have occupied a place among the Afghan mountains at an early period. They seem always to be spoken of as distinct from Afghans.

the features of the royal house of Samany in the face of the young prince, he was unable to control his emotions of loyalty, and throwing himself from his horse, ran to kiss his stirrup, which the young king perceiving, prevented the attempt by himself dismounting, and receiving him in his embrace.

The season being too far advanced for military operations, it was agreed, that Subooktugeen should return, during the winter, to Ghizny; and Ameer Nooh, after conferring the usual dresses of honour, returned to Bokhara. Boo Ally Hussun, Bin Sunjur, who having seized part of Khorassan had given an asylum to Fâïk, heard of the alliance formed between Ameer Nooh and Subooktugeen, and now became apprehensive of the consequence of favouring the rebel. Having consulted his council as to where he should find protection in case fortune deserted him, it was resolved that he should endeavour to ensure the alliance of Fukhr-ood Dowla Delimy, ruler of Joorjan.* He accordingly sent one Jafur Zoolkurnein ambassador to Joorjan, with valuable and curious presents, the produce of Khorassan and Toorkistan and a treaty of friendship was formed between these two princes.

Subooktugeen in the mean while put his troops in motion, and arrived at Bulkh†, where Ameer Nooh joined him with his forces from Bokhara. Fâïk and Boo-Ally-Hussun, hearing of this junction, marched (accompanied by Dara the general

* A small province to the north-east of Khorassan.

† An ancient and great city near the Oxus or Amoo, situated west of Bokhara, in latitude 37° 10′, and longitude 92° 21′ east of Faro.

of Fukhr-ood-Dowla) from Herat, to oppose the king. Subooktugeen, pitching his camp on an extensive plain, awaited the approach of the enemy, who soon after appeared in his front. He then drew out his army in order of battle, and took post in the centre, having with him his son Mahmood, and the young king of Bokhara.

At first the rebel troops advanced with great intrepidity, and pressed so closely on the flanks of Subooktugeen, that both wings began to give ground, and his army was on the point of being defeated. At this critical moment Dara, the general of Fukhr-ood-Dowla, galloping up to the centre where Subooktugeen in person led his troops, laid his shield over his back (a signal of friendship), as he approached, and riding up to him, begged he would accept of his services. After this, returning to his division, he immediately brought it over to the side of Subooktugeen, and faced round on his deserted friends. Subooktugeen, taking advantage of the confusion which ensued, charged and put the enemy to flight, pursuing them with slaughter, and taking many prisoners.

Thus this unhappy man (Fâïk), who had raised his hand against his sovereign, lost his honour and his wealth, a tenth part of which might have maintained him and his family in splendour and happiness. Fâïk and Boo-Ally-Hussun fled, and took the route of Nyshapoor. * Subooktugeen,

* Nyshapoor is still a very considerable city, well peopled, and carries on a great trade in all sorts of silk, stuffs, and carpets.

after this signal victory, received from the king of Bokhara the title of Nasir-ood-Deen (Hero of the faith), and his son Mahmood that of Syf-ood-Dowla (Sword of the state).

Ameer Nooh marched to Bokhara, and Subooktugeen and his son Mahmood to Nyshapoor. Fâïk and Boo-Ally-Hussun fled, at their approach, into Joorjan, and took refuge with Fukhr-ood-Dowla. The country being thus cleared of the enemy, Subooktugeen returned to Ghizny, while his son Mahmood remained at Nyshapoor with a small force. Fâïk and Boo-Ally-Hussun, availing themselves of this circumstance, collected their forces and attacked Mahmood, before he could receive reinforcements either from the emperor or his father, on which occasion he was defeated, and lost all his baggage.

Subooktugeen, hearing of his son's situation, hastened towards Nyshapoor, and meeting with the troops of Fâïk, attacked them without delay. In the heat of the action, a dust was observed suddenly to rise in the rear of Boo-ally-Hussun, which announced the approach of Prince Mahmood. Fâïk and Boo-ally-Hussun, finding they should soon be surrounded, made a desperate but unavailing charge against Subooktugeen. Mahmood arriving at that instant, attacked them like an angry lion, and they, unable to resist his fury, fled, and took refuge in the fort of Kilat.

After this victory, Subooktugeen resided at Bulkh, in peace and tranquillity, but in less than a year he fell into a languishing disorder, which not yielding to the power of medicine, he determined

to try change of air; and accordingly commenced a journey to Ghizny. He became so weak when he arrived at Toormooz (not far from Bulkh), that he was obliged to stop there, and expired in the month of Shaban (August), in the year 387, his remains being carried on to Ghizny for interment.

Shaban, A. H. 387. August, A. D. 997.

Subooktugeen was a prince of great bravery and conduct, and governed his subjects with prudence, equity, and moderation, for twenty years. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age. After him fourteen kings of his race reigned at Ghizny and Lahore. His Vizier, Abool Abass Fazil, Bin Ahmud Isferany, was considered a great minister in the management both of civil and military affairs.

The author of the Jama-ool-Hikayat * relates, that "Subooktugeen was at first a private horse-"man in the service of Aluptugeen, and being of "a vigorous and active disposition, used to hunt "every day in the forest. It happened on a time, "as he was engaged in the amusement of the chase, "he saw a doe grazing along with her fawn. On "which, spurring his horse, he seized the fawn, "and binding its legs proceeded on his return "home. Having ridden but a short distance, he "looked back, and beheld the doe following him, "exhibiting every demonstration of affliction. The "soul of Subooktugeen melting with pity, he un-"bound the fawn, and restored it to liberty: the

* A collection of historical anecdotes and stories, more useful in commemorating the prevailing opinions of contemporaries than as a source of authenticity.

" happy mother turned her face to the wilderness,
" often turning round to gaze on Subooktugeen.
" He is said to have seen during that night, in a
" dream, the Prophet of God, (on whom be peace!)
" who said to him, ' That generosity which you
" have this day shown to a distressed animal has
" been appreciated by God, and the kingdom of
" Ghizny is assigned to you in this world as your
" reward: let not thy power, however, under-
" mine thy virtue, but thus continue the exercise
" of benevolence towards mankind.' "

It is stated, also, in the Maasir-ool-Moolook, that his son Mahmood, having built a pleasure-house in an elegant garden near the city of Ghizny, invited his father, whenit was finished, to a magnificent entertainment which he had prepared for him.

Mahmood, in the joy of his heart, desired the opinion of Subooktugeen concerning the house and garden, which were much admired on account of the taste displayed in their formation. The king, to the great disappointment of his son, told him that he viewed the whole as a bauble, which any of his subjects might raise by the means of wealth; observing, that it was the business of a prince to raise more durable fabrics to fame, which might stand for ever, as objects worthy of imitation, but difficult to be surpassed by posterity. The poet Nizamy Oorazy of Samarkand makes upon this saying the following reflection: " Notwith-
" standing the numerous palaces built by Mah-
" mood, who vaunted of their beauty and mag-
" nificence, yet we see not one stone in its proper

" place; though the poems of Oonsurry* still " remains a splendid monument of his talents."

It is related in the Turjooma Yemny, that a short time previously to his death, Ameer Nasir-ood-Deen Subooktugeen held a conversation with Sheikh Abool Futteh of Boost. He observed, " In " the exertions we make to avert disease with the " hopes of recovery, I am forcibly reminded of " the condition of sheep and the butcher. In " the first instance, the sheep is brought into a " strange place, is bound by the feet, and is appre- " hensive that his end is approaching. After much " exertion he submits; and, on being shorn of his " fleece, is allowed to get up and be at liberty; " this ceremony is more than once renewed during " his life; and, lastly, when the moment of death " arrives, he permits himself to be quietly bound, " and resigns his throat to the knife, while he firmly " hopes he is only thrown down to be shorn. So " we become, in the course of time, accustomed to " the bed of sickness; we have recovered so often, " that we have no apprehension of danger, till at last " death comes suddenly upon us, and throws his " noose round our necks, and we are in an instant " throttled." It is said this conversation occurred only about forty days before the King's death.

* Oonsurry a celebrated poet who resided at the court of Mahmood.

AMEER ISMAEEL.

Ameer Ismaeel succeeds Subooktugeen during the absence of his elder brother Mahmood. — Mahmood proceeds to Ghizny to assert his claim. — Ismaeel is defeated and taken prisoner.

SUBOOKTUGEEN dying suddenly, and his eldest son Mahmood being at Nyshapoor, his second son Ismaeel prevailed on his father, in his last moments, to appoint him his successor. Ismaeel was accordingly crowned with great solemnity at Bulkh. In order to acquire popularity, he opened the treasury, and distributed great part of his father's wealth in presents to the nobility, and in expensive shows and entertainments to the people. He also augmented the pay of the troops, and rewarded small services with unusual profusion. The soldiers, however, perceived that this generosity arose out of apprehension of his brother, and they accordingly raised their demands, and became mutinous and disorderly.

When intelligence was brought to Mahmood of the death of his father, and the accession of his younger brother, he wrote to Ismaeel a letter, which he sent by the hand of Abool Hussun Jumvy, stating, that since the death of his royal father, he held no one upon earth so dear as his beloved brother, but that the art of government required the maturity of experience, wisdom, and age. That if Ismaeel were competent to so great a charge, it

might have induced him not to interfere; but it must be evident that their father Subooktugeen, in vesting him with the control of the kingdom, was influenced alone by a consideration of the great distance at which his eldest son then was. He advised Ismaeel, therefore, seriously to reflect on his situation, to distinguish right from wrong, and to give up at once all pretensions to the crown; in which case (Mahmood said) he was willing to cede to him the government of the provinces of Bulkh and Khorassan.

Ismaeel rejected these proposals, and Mahmood saw no remedy but war. Having gained over to his interests both his uncle Boghraz and his own younger brother, Ameer Nuseer-ood-Deen Yoosoof, Mahmood advanced to Ghizny; while Ismaeel hastened also from Bulkh to the same point. As the armies approached, Mahmood endeavoured to avoid coming to extremities, and having in vain tried to effect a reconciliation, was at length induced to form his troops in order of battle. Ismaeel also drew up his army, supported by a number of elephants. Both parties engaged with vigour; the action was bloody, and the victory long doubtful; Mahmood at last charged the centre of the enemy in person, and wholly discomfited it, compelling the fugitives to seek refuge in the citadel of Ghizny. Ismaeel was shortly after reduced to surrender, and to deliver up the keys of the garrison and treasury to his brother. Mahmood, having appointed a new ministry, proceeded with his army towards Bulkh. It is said, that a few days after the submission of Ismaeel, he was asked by his brother what he intended to have done

with him had his better fortune prevailed. To which Ismaeel replied, he would have imprisoned him for life, granting to him, at the same time, every indulgence but his liberty, Mahmood made no remark at the time, but subsequently confined Ismaeel in a fort in Joorjan, where he remained till his death. *

* Historians are at variance as to the right of succession of the two brothers. D'Herbelot says that Subooktugeen intended his son Ismaeel to succeed him. It is admitted that he nominated him his successor on his death-bed, while it is as certain that he was only a youth compared to his elder brother Mahmood. Ferishta states that the latter was the son of a lady of good family of Zabulistan, but from the familiar appellation of Zabuly, which is given to her, we should suspect she was only a female slave, and this notion is confirmed from the satire of Firdowsy, who distinctly reproaches Mahmood with his origin from slaves both on his mother and father's side. This fact accounts for Subooktugeen's wish that Ismaeel, his legitimate son, should succeed him instead of either of his illegitimate children, Mahmood or Nuseer-ood-Deen Yoosoof.

SOOLTAN MAHMOOD-GHIZNEVY.*

Description of Mahmood. — Gold mine discovered during his reign in Seestan. — Mahmood deputes an embassy to Ameer Nooh, King of Bokhara, to receive an acknowledgment of his claim to the succession. — The King of Bokhara refuses to confirm Khorassan to him, but confers it on Ameer Toozun Beg. — Mahmood marches to oppose Toozun Beg. — He retreats to join the King of Bokhara, who takes the field. — The King of Bokhara is seized by his own officers, and put to death. — His son Abdool Mullik raised to the throne. — Elik Khan, ruler of Kashghar, invades Bokhara, slays the young king, and seizes on the government. — Mahmood sends an embassy to Elik Khan, and receives his daughter in marriage. — Mahmood makes war with the Hindoos. — Defeats Jeipal, Raja of Punjab. — Second expedition to India. — Lays siege to Bhatna, and takes it after much resistance. — Elik Khan invades Khorassan in the absence of Mahmood in India. — Mahmood defeats Elik Khan, who never again appears in the field. — The army of Mahmood nearly lost in the snow. — Third expedition to India. — Mahmood opposed, on the confines of Pishawur, by Anundpal, the son and successor of Jeipal. — The Hindoos defeated with great slaughter. — Mahmood takes Nagrakote, and returns to Ghizny. — Fourth expedition to India. — Battle of Tahneswur. — Mahmood deputes his generals to take Joorjistan. — Procures the entire cession of Khorassan from the Caliph Alkadir Billa of Bagdad. — Fifth expedition to India. — Nindoona in Punjab taken. — Kashmeer invaded. — Sixth expedition to India. — Lokote besieged. — Mahmood's army nearly perishes on its return to Ghizny. — Marches against Khwaruzm. — The whole of Transoxania, including Orkund, is added to the Ghiznian

* His titles were Ameen-ool-Millut, defender of the faith, and Yemeen-ood-Dowlut, the right hand of the state.

empire. — Seventh expedition to India. — The Raja of Kunowj submits to pay tribute. — Mahmood takes Merut, Mahavun, and Mutra. — Eighth expedition into India. — Punjab invaded. — Lokote and Lahore taken. — An officer left in Punjab to govern the country. — Ninth expedition to India. — Kalunjur besieged. — The Raja Nunda Ray agrees to pay tribute, and peace is concluded. — On his return to Ghizny, Mahmood marches into Transoxania, and settles that country. Tenth expedition to India. — Mahmood proceeds to Guzerat, and reduces Somnat. — Description of the temple. — Mahmood returns to Ghizny. — His army nearly perishes for want of water on its march. — Expedition against the Juts, near Mooltan. — Their fleet attacked and destroyed, by the fleet of Mahmood, on the Indus. — The Suljook Tartars invade Transoxania, and the provinces on the Caspian. — Mahmood unable from debility to oppose them. — His health declines. — His death. — Character. — Description of his court. — His munificence to learned men.

We are told by historians, that Mahmood was endowed with all the qualities of a great prince, and reflected lustre upon the faith: while others inform us, that in his disposition the vice of avarice held supreme sway. It appears to me, however, that he has been unjustly censured in this respect. It is true, he was insatiable in acquiring wealth; but it was expended in the prosecution of his distant and splendid conquests. We have the testimony of the Futteh-ool-Bulad, and the travels of Aboo-Nusr-Muscaty, and of the famous Abool-Fuzeel, that no king had ever more learned men at his court, maintained a finer army, or displayed more magnificence than Mahmood. All these objects could not have been obtained without great expense; so that, when he is accused of avarice, some few particular acts of his life must be alluded

to, which ought by no means to affect his general character. In two instances this passion was certainly very conspicuous. First, in his conduct to Ferdowsy; and, secondly, in his exactions from his subjects, in the latter part of his reign.

Mahmood, who, it is stated, was deficient in personal beauty, said one day (observing himself in a glass), "The sight of a king should brighten the eyes of the beholders; but nature has been so unkind to me, that my appearance is positively forbidding." His Vizier replied, "It is not one in ten thousand of a king's subjects who are blessed with a sight of him; but your Majesty's virtues are diffused over all." But to proceed with our history. Mahmood was the eldest son of Subooktugeen. His mother was the daughter of a person of good family in Zabulistan; for which reason she is termed Zabuly. He was born on the night of the ninth Mohurrum, in the year 357 of the Hijra, (15th December, 967,) — and Minhaj-oos-Siraj Joorjany states, that his birth took place on the same day of the year as that of the Prophet. Subooktugeen being asleep at the time of his birth, dreamed that he beheld a green tree springing forth from the fire-place of his house, which threw its shadow over the face of the earth, screening with its boughs, from the storms of heaven, the whole animal creation. This, indeed, was verified by the justice of Mahmood; for it has been metaphorically stated, that in his reign the wolf and the lamb drank together at the same brook. In the first month of his reign, a vein of gold, resembling a tree, of three cubits in depth, was discovered in a

mine in Seestan, which yielded pure gold till the reign of Musaood, when it was lost in consequence of an earthquake.

Mahmood, having ejected his brother, hastened to Bulkh, from whence he sent an ambassador to Abool Munsoor, King of Bokhara, to whom the family of Ghizny still continued to own allegiance, complaining of the indignity which had been offered him by the nomination of Ameer Toozun Beg to the government of Khorassan, a country so long in possession of his father. Mahmood received for answer, that he was already in possession of the territories of Bulkh, Toormooz, and Hirat*, and that it was expedient to divide the favours of Bokhara among all its officers. He was, moreover, informed that Toozun Beg had been a faithful and good servant, an insinuation which implied a reflection on the family of Ghizny for having rendered itself independent in the governments it held of the royal house of Samany.

Mahmood, not discouraged by this answer, sent Abool-Hussun Jumvy with rich presents to the court of Bokhara, and a letter couched in the following terms: — that "he hoped no such indignity "would be imposed on him as to drive him to the "necessity of throwing off that allegiance he had "hitherto paid to the imperial house of Samany."

* Hirat is situated in the southern part of the province of Khorassan, in 34° of N. lat. It was always a great city, and is very much increased in splendour since the ruin of the city of Meshed by the Uzbeks, and has become the capital of Khorassan. It is the chief mart of the commerce carried on between India and Persia.

The Emperor, instead of replying to the letter of Mahmood, contrived to gain over his ambassador to his own service, and appointed him to the office of Vizier. Mahmood accordingly marched to recover Nyshapoor from Toozun Beg, who, advised of his intention, abandoned the city, and sending intelligence of his situation to the Emperor Ameer Munsoor, that prince himself marched to oppose Mahmood, and in the rashness of inexperienced youth hastened towards Khorassan, without halting, till he reached Surukhsh. Mahmood, though he well knew that the Emperor was in no condition to oppose him, was induced, out of respect towards the imperial standards of Samany, to evacuate Nyshapor, and to fall back on Moorghab. Ameer Toozun Beg, in the mean time, treacherously engaged in a conspiracy with Fâïk in the camp of Ameer Munsoor, and seizing that prince, put out his eyes, and raised Abdool-Mullik, the younger brother of Munsoor (then a boy), to the throne. Apprehensive, however, of the resentment of Mahmood, the conspirators hastened to Murv*, whither they were pursued by Mahmood. Finding themselves hard pressed, they halted and gave battle, but were defeated. Fâïk carried off the young king, and fled to Bokhara; Toozun Beg also escaped, but was not heard of, till he began to collect his scattered troops. Fâïk, in the mean time, fell sick, and soon after died.

* Murv stands on a sandy plain, in 37° N. lat. and 88° E. long. from Faro. It was formerly one of the richest and most beautiful towns of Persia; but since the invasion of the Tartars under Chungiz into southern Asia, it has suffered so much, that at present it retains but the shadow of its former magnificence.

Elik Khan, ruler of Kashghar, seizing the opportunity afforded by these dissensions, marched from Kashghar* to Bokhara, and slaying Abool Mullik, annihilated his whole race. Thus the house of Samany, which had continued to reign in Bokhara for a period of one hundred and twenty-eight years, became extinct.

Mahmood, at this juncture, employed himself in settling the government of the provinces of Bulkh and Khorassan, which he regulated in such a manner, that his fame reached the Caliph of Bagdad, Alkadir-Billa, of the house of Abass; who sent him a rich honorary dress (such as he had never before bestowed on any king), and dignified Mahmood with the titles of Ameen-ool-Millut, and Yemeen-ood-Dowlut.† In the end of the month Zeekad, in the year 390, Mahmood proceeded from Bulkh to Hirat, and thence to Seestan, where having defeated Khuluf the son of Ahmed, the governor of that province, he returned to Ghizny. About the same time, also, he marched in the direction of India‡, took many forts and provinces, in which having established his own governors, he returned to his capital. Having overcome all opposition to his government, he devoted himself for

Zeekad, A. H. 390. Oct. A. D. 1000.

* Little Bokhara: this kingdom extends from 38° 30′ lat. to 44° 30′, and from 105° to 120° E. long. It is populous and fertile; but on account of its great elevation it is much colder than might be expected.

† The asylum of the faith, and the right arm of the state.

‡ India, in this place, must mean dependent districts west of the Attock, for as yet no Mahomedan army appears to have crossed that river.

some time to the improvement of his country and to the organisation of courts of civil and criminal justice. He also deemed it politic to acknowledge the new ruler of Bokhara, and accordingly deputed Aboo-Tyub Soheil, Bin Sooliman, Salooky, with magnificent presents, to form an alliance* with Elik Khan, and to congratulate him on his late acquisition of the territory of Bokhara. On the arrival of the ambassador in Toorkistan, he was met by deputations at all the principal towns (for many of the Toorks at this time had become Mahomedans), and being graciously received at Orkund by Elik Khan, the envoy remained there till the accomplishment of the objects of his journey.

Mahmood having settled the affairs of his empire, turned his thoughts towards Hind; and he accordingly marched, in the month of Shuval, in the year 391, from Ghizny, with ten thousand chosen horse, to Pishawur, where Jeipal, the Raja of Lahore, with twelve thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, supported by three hundred elephants, opposed him, on Monday the 8th of Mohurrum, in the three hundred and ninety-second year of the Hijra. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Mahmood was victorious; Jeipal with fifteen of his principal chiefs, being his sons and brethren, were taken prisoners, and five thousand of his troops were slain on the field of battle. Mahmood

Shuval, A. H. 391. August, A. D. 1001.

Mohurrum. 8. A. H. 392. Nov. 27. A. D. 1001.

* The connection went beyond a mere political union. Mahmood solicited and obtained, through the influence of his envoy, the daughter of Elik Khan in marriage

in this action acquired great fame and wealth: among the spoils were sixteen necklaces inlaid with jewels, one of which, that belonging to Jeipal, was valued by jewellers at the time at 180,000 deenars.*

After this victory, Mahmood marched from Pishawur, and investing the fort of Bitunda, reduced it. In the opening of the ensuing spring he released his prisoners, on payment of a large ransom, and on their stipulating for an annual tribute; but he put to death many of the Afghan chiefs who had opposed him, and then returned to Ghizny.

It is said that, in those days, a custom prevailed among the Hindoos, that whatever raja was twice overpowered by strangers, became disqualified to reign. Jeipal, in compliance with this custom, resigned his crown to his son; and, having ordered a funeral pile to be prepared, he set fire to it with his own hands, and perished therein.

Mohurrum, A. H. 393. November, A. D. 1002. In the month of Mohurrum, of the year three hundred and ninety-three, Mahmood again marched into Seestan †, and brought Khuluf prisoner to Ghizny.

Finding, also, that the tribute from Hindoostan had not been paid, in the year three hundred and ninety-five, he directed his march towards the city of Bhateea ‡; and passing through the province of Moultan,

A. H. 395. A. D. 1004.

* Valuing the deenar at 9*s.*, this sum would make 81,000*l.*

† A maritime province of Persia, lying between Kirman, or the antient Carmania, and the mouth of the Indus.

‡ I have failed in fixing the position of this place.

arrived before that place. Bhateea was fortified with an exceedingly high wall, and surrounded by a deep and broad ditch. It was at that time governed by Raja Beejy Ray, who, having greatly molested the Mahomedan governors, whom Mahmood had established in Hindoostan, also refused to pay his proportion of the tribute to Anundpal, the son of Jeipal, on whom he was dependent.

When Mahmood entered the territories of Beejy Ray, that prince drew out his troops to receive him; and taking possession of strong posts, engaged the Mahomedans for the space of three days, during which time they suffered so much, that they were on the point of abandoning their enterprize. On the fourth day, Mahmood, addressing his troops, said he should in person lead the main attack, "For to-day, (said he,) I have devoted myself to conquest or to death." Beejy Ray, on his part, having propitiated the gods, resolved also to combat with his wonted courage. Although the Mahomedans advanced with great impetuosity, they were frequently repulsed with slaughter; still, however, they returned, and renewed with ardor their attacks till evening, when Mahmood, turning his face towards Mecca, prostrated himself in sight of his troops, and implored the aid of the Prophet. "Advance, advance," cried the King, "our prayers have found favour with God." A loud shout from his soldiers responded their resolution, and the Mahomedans, pressing forward, compelled the enemy to give ground, and pursued them to the gates of the town.

Mahmood having next morning invested the fort

of Bhateea, took measures to fill up the ditch, an undertaking which in a few days was nearly completed. Beejy Ray, deeming it impossible any longer to maintain the town, determined to leave only a small garrison for its defence; and, accordingly, one night, marched out with the rest of his troops, and took post in a wood on the banks of the Indus. Mahmood, informed of his retreat, detached part of his army to surprise him. Beejy Ray, deserted by most of his friends, and perceiving himself surrounded by the Mahomedans, attempted in vain to force his way, till, just as he was on the point of being made prisoner, he turned his sword against his own breast; and most of his adherents subsequently fell, in attempting to revenge the death of their master.

Mahmood, mean time, took Bhateea by assault. Two hundred and eighty elephants, many slaves, and other spoils, were obtained in the town; which Mahmood annexed, with its dependencies, to his own dominions, and returned victorious to Ghizny.

A. H. 396. A. D. 1005. In the year three hundred and ninety-six, Mahmood formed the design of reconquering Mooltan, which had revolted. Sheikh Humeed Lody, the first ruler of Mooltan, had paid tribute to Ameer Subooktugeen, and after him his grandson Abool-Futteh Dawood, the son of Nuseer, the son of Sheikh Humeed. Abool-Futteh Dawood, now having abandoned the tenets of the faithful *, had at this time shaken off

* It is probable this passage merely alludes to heterodoxy and not to paganism.

his allegiance. It is related in the Towareekh Alfy, that when he heard of the approach of Mahmood from Ghizny, Abool-Futteh Dawood solicited the aid of his ally Anundpal, the successor of Jeipal; who, true to his alliance, detached the greater part of his army to oppose Mahmood in Pishawur, where it was defeated, and pursued by his troops as far as the town of Sodra *, on the Chunab.

Anundpal, on this occasion deserting his capital, fled through the hills into Kashmeer. Mahmood now entered Mooltan, by the route of Bitunda: when Dawood received the intelligence of the fate of Anundpal's army, and being too weak to keep the field alone, he retreated, and subsequently purchased his pardon by a promise of an annual tribute of 20,000 golden dirhems †, and implicit obedience in future.

Mahmood having besieged Mooltan for seven days made these terms, and was preparing to return to Ghizny, when news was brought from Arslan Jazib, governor of Hirat, that Elik Khan, the king of Kashgar, had invaded his territory. He instantly repaired to Ghizny, having placed the management of the affairs of Hindoostan in the hands of Séwukpál, a Hindoo prince, who had formerly been made prisoner by Aboo-Ally-Sunjury, in Pishawur, and had become a convert to Mahomedism.

* The town of Sodra, called also Wuzeerabad, is situated on the left bank of the Chunab, about fifty miles due north of Lahore.

† The dirhem is known as a small silver coin valued at about 5*d*. The golden dirhem is not known or estimated in any work I have seen.

The particulars of the war with Elik Khan are these. We have already mentioned that a close alliance had been formed between Elik Khan and Mahmood, to the latter of whom the former had given his daughter in marriage. But factious persons about the two courts, by misrepresentations, had changed their former friendship into enmity. When Mahmood marched to Hindoostan, he left Khorassan almost destitute of troops, and Elik Khan, taking advantage of the circumstance, resolved to seize that province for himself. To accomplish his design, he ordered his chief general, Sipustugeen, to invade Khorassan, and directed Jakurtugeen to invade Bulkh. Arslan Jazib, the governor of Hirat, informed of these movements, hastened to Ghizny to secure the capital; and the chiefs of Khorassan finding themselves deserted, and being in no condition to oppose the enemy, submitted to Elik Khan.

Mahmood, having by long marches reached Ghizny, pushed onward with his army towards Bulkh, from whence Jakurtugeen although in full possession of the city, fled towards Toormooz. Mahmood detached Arslan Jazib with a great part of his army to expel Sipustugeen from Khorassan; who, upon the approach of the troops of Ghizny, abandoned Hirat, and retreated to Mawur-ool-Nehr.*

Elik Khan, seeing the state of his affairs, solicited the aid of Kuddur Khan of Khootun, who marched to join him with fifty thousand men. Strengthened by this alliance, Elik Khan crossed the river Jyhoon

* Literally, the country beyond the river Transoxania.

(Oxus), and encamped within four *fursungs** of Bulkh. Mahmood was not backward to meet him. The command of the van of the army was given to his brother, the Prince Nuseer-ood-deen Yoosoof, governor of Joorjan, under whom fought Aboo-Nusr Koorioon and Abdoolla Taee. The right wing was entrusted to Altoon Tash Hajib, while the left, composed of Afghans and Khiljies, was commanded by Arslan Jazib. The main body was strengthened by five hundred elephants, placed in the intervals of the line, so that nothing might oppose the retreat of these animals in case of defeat.†

The King of Kashghar posted himself in the centre. The Ameer Kuddur Khan led the right, and Sipustugeen the left wing. As both armies advanced to the charge, the shouts of warriors, the neighing of horses, and the clashing of arms, reached the broad arch of heaven, while dust obscured the face of day. Elik Khan in person attempted with

* A fursung (parasang) is a land measure, varying from three to four miles. In general it answers to the league of Europe.

† This passage requires explanation. Among the Hindoos a line of elephants usually preceded that of the infantry, and was intended to break through the opposing army. If this succeeded, the victory was usually complete. If, however, the elephants were repulsed, and became alarmed, they ran back furiously on their own troops, causing that confusion among them which it was intended they should effect on their foes. Mahmood, having seen this happen, made the elephants form a part of his line, so that if they became alarmed, and fled, they might have room to do so; while the space they occupied was instantly filled by other troops, which deployed right and left from the rear of each division. Time, however, has convinced all nations that these timid and unwieldy animals are ill adapted for warfare.

his personal guards to break through the centre of Mahmood's army; but the latter perceiving his intention, leaped from his horse, and, kissing the ground, invoked the aid of the Almighty. He instantly mounted an elephant, encouraged his troops, and met the assault of Elik Khan. The elephant, seizing the standard bearer of the enemy in his trunk, tossed him aloft in the air. Mahmood now pressed forward with the line of elephants, which trod the enemy like locusts under their feet.

The Ghizny troops bravely supported their king, rushing on with headlong impetuosity, and driving the enemy with great slaughter before them. Elik Khan, defeated on all sides, crossed the river with a few of his surviving attendants, and never afterwards appeared in the field during the remainder of Mahmood's reign. It is related in the Towareekh Yumny, that the King, after this victory, proposed to pursue the enemy, which was thought unadvisable by his generals, on account of the inclemency of the season, it being then winter, and the troops hardly capable of motion. But Mahmood, firm in his determination, followed the fugitives for two whole days. On the third night, a storm of wind and snow overtook the Ghiznian army in the desert. The King's tents were, with much difficulty, pitched, while the army was without shelter. Mahmood having ordered a number of munkuls or stoves to be brought within his tents, they became so heated, that many of the courtiers began to throw off their upper garments, when a facetious chief, whose name was Dilchuk, came in, shivering with cold. The King observing him,

said, " Go out, Dilchuk, and tell the Winter " that he may burst his cheeks with blustering, for " here we defy his power." Dilchuk went out accordingly, and returning in a short time, kissed the ground, and thus addressed his master: " I have " delivered the King's message to the Winter, but " the surly season replies, that if his hands cannot " reach the skirts of royalty, nor hurt the attend- " ants of the court, yet he will so evince his power " this night on the army, that in the morning " Mahmood may be compelled to saddle his own " horse."

The King smiled at this reply, but it presently rendered him thoughtful, and he determined to proceed no further. In the morning, some hundreds of men and horses were found to have perished from the cold. Mahmood at this time received advice from India, that Séwukpál *, the renegado Hindoo, had thrown off his allegiance, and returning to his former religion, had expelled all the officers appointed by the King.

Mahmood, resolving to punish this revolt, and having marched with great expedition towards India, detached some part of his cavalry in front, who, coming unexpectedly upon Séwukpál, defeated him, and brought him in prisoner. The rebel was compelled to pay the sum of 400,000 dirhems †, and was kept in confinement during the rest of his life.

* It is probable he was some relative of the Raja of Lahore. In some manuscripts this name is written Zab-Sa.

† If this be the silver dirhem, the fine does not exceed 8333*l.* sterling.

Mahmood having thus settled his affairs in India, returned, in the autumn, to Ghizny; where he remained during the winter. In the spring of the year 399 he determined again to attack Anundpal, Raja of Lahore, for having lent his aid to Dawood, during the late defection in Mooltan. Anundpal, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindoostan, who now considered the expulsion of the Mahomedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly the rajas of Oojein, Gualiar, Kalunjur, Kunowj, Delily, and Ajmeer, entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces advanced towards Punjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The Indians and Mahomedans arrived in sight of each other on a plain on the confines of the province of Pishawur, where they remained encamped forty days without coming to action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. The Hindoo females, on this occasion, sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts), to furnish resources for the war; and the Gukkurs, and other warlike tribes joining the army, surrounded the Mahomedans, who were obliged to entrench their camp.

A. H. 399.
A. D. 1008.

Mahmood, having thus secured himself, ordered six thousand archers to the front to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by the Gukkurs, who, in spite of the King's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops, and followed them so closely,

that no less than 30,000 Gukkurs with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons, penetrated into the Mahomedan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and 5000 Mahomedans in a few minutes were slain. The enemy were at length checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter, till, on a sudden, the elephant, upon which the prince who commanded the Hindoos rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha balls*, and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindoos, who, seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also. Abdoolla Taee, with six thousand Arabian horse, and Arslan Jazib, with 10,000 Toorks, Afghans, and Khiljies, pursued the enemy day and night, so that 20,000 Hindoos were killed in the retreat. Of the spoil, 30 elephants (besides other booty) were brought to the King.

The King, in his zeal to propagate the faith,

* This passage is differently written in the various manuscripts I have seen; and, in some, the word *tope* (gun) has been written for *nupth* (naphtha), and *toofung* (musket) for *khudung* (arrow). But no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time usually assigned for its invention, A. D. 1317, long after which it was first applied to the purpose of war. It appears likely, also, that Babur was the first invader who introduced great guns into Upper India, in 1526, so that the words tope and toofung have been, probably, introduced by ignorant transcribers of the modern copies of this work, which are in general very faulty throughout. It is a remarkable fact that the words guns and muskets occur in the India House manuscript, which was copied in 1648; and it may therefore, probably be no error of the transcriber, the fact however, appears impossible.

now marched against the Hindoos of Nagrakote, breaking down their idols and razing their temples. The fort, at that time denominated the Fort of Bheem, was closely invested by the Mahomedans, who had first laid waste the country around it with fire and sword. Bheem was built by a prince of the same name, on the top of a steep mountain, where the Hindoos, on account of its strength, had deposited the wealth consecrated to their idols by all the neighbouring kingdoms; so that in this fort there is supposed to have been a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, than was ever collected in the royal treasury of any prince on earth. Mahmood invested the place with such expedition, that the Hindoos had no time to throw in troops for its defence. The greater part of the garrison was before in the field, and those within consisted, for the most part, of priests, who, having little inclination to the bloody business of war, made overtures to capitulate; and on the third day Mahmood became master of this strong citadel without opposition or bloodshed.

In Bheem were found 700,000 golden dinars, 700 muns * of gold and silver plate, 200 muns of pure gold in ingots, 2000 muns of silver bullion, and

* The weight of the mun varies in all parts of the East. In some parts of Arabia it is only about 2lb., that of Tubreez is 11lb., that of Gamroon 7lb. 8oz., that of Muscat 8lb. 12oz., vide "Kelly's Cambist," p. 122. Ferishta derived his authority from Persian and Arabian historians, and we may conclude they spoke of the weights in use among them. If we take the smallest weight, we have 1400lb. of gold and silver plate, 400lb. of golden ingots, 4000lb. of silver bullion, and 40lb. weight of

twenty muns of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, which had been collected since the time of Bheem, the details of which would be tedious. With this vast booty Mahmood returned to Ghizny; and in the year 400 prepared a magnificent festival, where he displayed to the people his wealth in golden thrones, and in other rich ornaments, on a great plain without the city of Ghizny, conferring on every individual of rank a princely present.

A. H. 400. A. D. 1009.

In the following year Mahmood led his army towards Ghoor. The native prince of that country, Mahomed, of the Afghan tribe of Soor (the same race which gave birth to the dynasty that eventually succeeded in subverting the family of Subooktugeen), occupied an entrenched camp with 10,000 men. Mahmood was repulsed in repeated assaults which he made from morning till noon. Finding that the troops of Ghoor defended their entrenchments with such obstinacy, he caused his army to retreat in apparent confusion, in order to allure the enemy out of his fortified position. The Ghoorians, deceived by the stratagem, pursued the army of Ghizny; when the King, facing about, attacked and defeated them with great slaughter. Mahomed Soor, being made prisoner, was brought

A. H. 401. A. D. 1010.

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pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies: the mean of the largest weights would not increase the weight fourfold, and the specie at 10*s*. the deenar is about 313,333*l*. sterling.

to the King, but having taken poison, which he always kept under his ring, he died in a few hours; his country was annexed to the dominions of Ghizny. The author of the Towareekh Yumny affirms, that neither the sovereigns of Ghoor nor its inhabitants were Mahomedans till after this victory; whilst the author of the Tubkat-Nasiry, and Fukhr-ood-Deen Moobarik Shah Lody, the latter of whom wrote a history of the kings of Ghoor in verse, both affirm, that they were converted many years before, even so early as the time of Ally, the son-in-law of the Prophet; and they assert that, during the reigns of the Caliphs of the house of Oomya, the whole race of Islam was induced to revile the venerable Ally, with the exception only of the Ghoorians.

Mahmood, in the same year, was under the necessity of marching to Mooltan, which had revolted; where having cut off a number of the infidel inhabitants and brought Dawood, the son of Nuseer, prisoner to Ghizny, he confined him in the fort of Ghooruk for life.

A. H. 402. A. D. 1011. In the year 402 Mahmood resolved on the conquest of Tahnesur*, in the kingdom of Hindoostan. It had reached the ears of the King that Tahnesur was held in the same veneration by idolaters, as Mecca by the faithful; that they had there set up a number of idols, the principal of which they called Jugsoma, pretending that it had existed ever since the creation. Mahmood having reached Punjab, re-

* A city 30 miles west of Dehly.

quired, according to the subsisting treaty with Anundpal, that his army should not be molested on its march through his country. An embassy was accordingly sent to inform the Raja of his intentions, and desiring him to send safe-guards into his towns and villages, which he would take care should be protected from the followers of his camp.

Anundpal, agreeing to this proposal, prepared an entertainment for the reception of the King, at the same time issuing orders for all his subjects to supply the camp with every necessary of life.

The Raja's brother, with two thousand horse was also sent to meet the army, and to deliver the following message:—"My brother is the subject "and tributary of the King, but he begs per- "mission to acquaint his Majesty, that Tahnesúr "is the principal place of worship of the inhabit- "ants of the country: that if it is required "by the religion of Mahmood to subvert the "religion of others, he has already acquitted him- "self of that duty, in the destruction of the temple "of Nagrakote. But if he should be pleased to "alter his resolution regarding Tahnesur, Anundpal "promises that the amount of the revenues of that "country shall be annually paid to Mahmood; "that a sum shall also be paid to reimburse him "for the expence of his expedition, besides which, "on his own part, he will present him with fifty "elephants, and jewels to a considerable amount."

Mahmood replied, "The religion of the faith- "ful inculcates the following tenet: 'That in pro- "portion as the tenets of the Prophet are

" diffused, and his followers exert themselves in " the subversion of idolatry, so shall be their " reward in heaven;' that, therefore, it behoved " him, with the assistance of God, to root out the " worship of idols from the face of all India. " How then should he spare Tahnesur?"

This answer was communicated to the Raja of Dehly, who, resolving to oppose the invaders, sent messengers throughout Hindoostan to acquaint the other rajas that Mahmood, without provocation, was marching with a vast army to destroy Tahnesur, now under his immediate protection. He observed, that if a barrier was not expeditiously raised against this roaring torrent, the country of Hindoostan would be soon overwhelmed, and that it behoved them to unite their forces at Tahnesur, to avert the impending calamity.

Mahmood having reached Tahnesur before the Hindoos had time to take measures for its defence, the city was plundered, the idols broken, and the idol Jugsoma was sent to Ghizny to be trodden under foot. According to Hajy Mahommed Kandahary, a ruby was found in one of the temples weighing 450 miskals, and it was allowed by every one who saw it to be a wonder that had never before been heard of.

Mahmood, after the capture of Tahnesur, was desirous of proceeding to Dehly. But his nobles told him, that it would be impossible to keep possession of it, till he had rendered Mooltan a province of his own government, and secured himself from all apprehension of Anundpal, Raja of Lahore. The King resolved, therefore, for the present, to

proceed no further, till he had accomplished these objects. Anundpal, however, conducted himself with so much policy and hospitality towards Mahmood, that he returned peaceably to Ghizny. On this occasion, the Mahomedan army brought to Ghizny 200,000 captives, and much wealth, so that the capital appeared like an Indian city, no soldier of the camp being without wealth, or without many slaves.

A. H. 403. A. D. 1012. In the year 403 Mahmood deputed his generals, Altoon-Tash and Arslan Jazib, to reduce the province of Joorjistan *; when the prince of that country, entitled Sar-Aboo-Nusr†, was taken prisoner. The appellation of Sar among the Tartars having the same signification as Ray in India, and Kysur (Cæsar) in Rome. Mahmood at this time wrote to the Caliph of Bagdad (Al-Kadir Billa Abassy), that as the greatest part of the province of Khorassan was under his jurisdiction, he hoped he would order his governors to give up the remainder. The Caliph, dreading the great power of Mahmood, consented without hesitation to this demand. Finding the Caliph so complying, he required him also to send an order for the surrender of the city of Samarkand; but the Caliph refusing to accede to this proposal, Mahmood wrote him a threatening letter, and repeated his demand, stating, that unless an order was forthwith sent for the cession, he would march to Bagdad, and putting

* It is frequently written Ghirjistan.

† We recognise in this word, perhaps, the Czar of Muscovy.

him to death, would bring his ashes to Ghizny. The Caliph, roused with indignation, made a laconic but spirited reply, which had the effect of preventing Mahmood from again urging the request.

A. H. 404. A. D. 1013. In the year 404 Mahmood marched his army against the fort of Nindoona, situated on the mountains of Bulnat *, then in the possession of the Raja of Lahore. Anundpal had lately died, and his son, Jeipal † the Second, had succeeded to the government. When the grandson of Jeipal saw that he could not oppose the King in the field, he drew off his army towards Kashmeer, leaving troops for the defence of his capital. Mahmood immediately invested it, and by mining and other modes of attack, put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating. The King having granted to the besieged their lives took every thing of value out of the place, and appointing a new governor moved without delay towards Kashmeer, on which the Raja of Lahore, abandoning that province, fled to the hills. Mahmood plundered Kashmeer, and, having forced the inhabitants to acknowledge the Prophet, returned with rich spoils to his capital.

A. H. 406. A. D. 1015. Mahmood, in the year 406, revisited Kashmeer with his army, in order to punish some revolted chiefs, and to be-

* For an account of Bulnat see Leyden's Baber.

† It is very usual among Hindoos to give to children the name of their grandfather, if born after his death, from a notion that the grandsire's soul may be received into the infant's body.

siege some forts, which he had not reduced in his former expedition. The first of those forts was Lokote, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated the King's utmost efforts; for not being able to reduce it during the summer season, he was obliged, on the approach of winter, to abandon his enterprize and return to Ghizny. On his route he was misled by his guides, and falling into extensive morasses, from which he for several days could not extricate his army, many of his troops perished, and he failed in all the enterprises of this campaign.

Abool Abass Mamoon, King of Khwaruzm, in the course of the same year, wrote to Mahmood, asking his sister in marriage, to which the King having agreed, she was sent to Khwaruzm.

A. H. 407. A. D. 1015. In the year 407, a revolt occurring in the government of Abool Abass, the conspirators attacked and defeated his guards. The prince fell into their hands, and was put to death. Mahmood, hearing of this disaster, marched to Bulkh, and thence to Khwaruzm. On arriving at Khoozarbund, he ordered his general, Mahomed Bin-Ibraheem Taee, to proceed in advance. This detachment had scarcely crossed the frontier, when, one day while the Mahomedans were engaged in prayer, Khumar Tash, the general of the Khwaruzmians, rushed upon them from a neighbouring wood, and making a great slaughter, put the whole to flight. Mahmood received intelligence of this affair, and sent a considerable force, consisting of his personal guards, to their support, which inspiring Ibraheem Taee's party

with courage, it rallied, and having routed the enemy, took their chief prisoner, and brought him before the King.

Mahmood, found the Khwaruzmians prepared to receive him at Hazarasp; but they were soon defeated, their general Sipustugeen, a native of Bokhara, was taken prisoner, and the murderer of Abool-Abass suffered the punishment due to his crime. Mahmood spent some time in regulating the government, which he bestowed upon Altoon Tash Ameer Hajib, on whom he conferred the title of King of Khwaruzm. * He annexed, also, to his government, the province of Orkund. † Returning to Bulkh, Mahmood gave the government of Hirat to his son, the Prince Ameer Musaood, appointing Aboo-Soheil Mahomed, the son of Hoossein Zowzuny, his vizier; and the government of Koorkan he conferred on his younger son, the Prince Ameer Mahomed, under the tutelage of Aboo-Bukr Koohistany. After the final settlement of the affairs of Khwaruzm, the Ghiznian army was placed in cantonment for the winter at Boost.

A. H. 409. A. D. 1017. In the spring of the year 409, Mahmood, with an army consisting of 100,000 chosen horse, and 20,000 foot, raised in the countries of Toorkistan, Mawur-ool-Nehr, Khorassan, and the adjacent provinces, undertook an expedition against Kunowj, which, from the

* Khwaruzm, the Chorasmia of the ancients, is a city which gives its name to the province, as we say, the county and city of York.

† It is frequently written Orgunj.

time of Gooshtasp, the father of Darab, till this period, had not been visited by any foreign enemy. Kunowj was distant from Ghizny three months' march, and seven formidable rivers intervened. When Mahmood reached the confines of Kashmeer, the prince, whom he had established in that country, sent him presents of all that was curious and valuable in his kingdom, and was directed to accompany the army. The King, with much difficulty, conducted his troops a long and tedious march, till he entered the plains of Hindoostan, and driving all opposition before him, advanced to Kunowj.

He there saw a city which raised its head* to the skies, and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled. The Indian prince of this rich city was Koowur-Ray. He affected great state and splendour, but being thus unexpectedly invaded, had not time to put himself in a posture of defence, or to collect his troops. Terrified by the great force, and the formidable appearance of the invaders, he resolved to sue for peace; and accordingly going out, with his family, to the camp, he submitted himself to Sooltan Mahmood. The author of the Hubeeboos Seer relates that he even embraced the Mahomedan faith. The King of Ghizny remained in Kunowj only three days, and then marched towards Merut, the raja of which place, Hurdut, retreated with his army, and left only a small garrison, which capitulated in a few days, agreeing to pay 250,000 silver deenars,

* This oriental metaphor alludes to pride, which elevates its head from a sense of superiority.

and to deliver up thirty elephants. The King marched from thence to the fort of Muhavun, on the banks of the river Jumna. Koolchund, the Raja of Muhavun, having come forth to make his submission at the head of his troops, a quarrel accidently arose between some of the soldiers of both armies, and a fight ensued, in which most of the Hindoos were driven into the river. The Raja, in despair, slew his own wife and children on the spot, and then turned the point of his sword on himself. The fort subsequently surrendering, the conqueror obtained much treasure and booty, amongst which were 80 elephants.

Mahmood having refreshed his troops, and understanding that at some distance stood the rich city of Mutra, consecrated to Krishn-Vas-dew, whom the Hindoos venerate as an emanation of God; directed his march thither, and entering it with little opposition from the troops of the Raja of Dehly, to whom it belonged, gave it up to plunder. He broke down or burned all the idols, and amassed a vast quantity of gold and silver, of which the idols were mostly composed. He would have destroyed the temples also, but he found the labour would have been excessive; while some say that he was averted from his purpose by their admirable beauty. He certainly extravagantly extolled the magnificence of the buildings and city in a letter to the governor of Ghizny, in which the following passage occurs:—"There are here a thousand edi-"fices as firm as the faith of the faithful; most of "them of marble, besides innumerable temples; "nor is it likely this city has attained its present

" condition but at the expence of many millions " of deenars, nor could such another be con- " structed under a period of two centuries."

Among the temples at Mutra were found five golden idols, whose eyes were of rubies, valued at 50,000 deenars. * On another idol was found a sapphire, weighing 400 miskals, and the image itself, being melted down, produced 98,300 miskals of pure gold; besides these images there were above 100 idols of silver, which loaded as many camels. † The King tarried in Mutra 20 days; in which time the city suffered greatly from fire, beside the damage it sustained by being pillaged. At length he continued his march along the course of a stream on whose banks were seven strong fortifications, all of which fell in succession: there were also discovered some very ancient temples, which, according to the Hindoos, had existed for 4000 years. Having sacked these temples and forts, the troops were led against the fort of Munj.‡ This fort was full of Rajpoots, who held out 25 days; but finding the place no longer tenable, some rushed through the breaches on the enemy, and met that death which they no longer endeavoured to avoid; others threw themselves headlong from the walls, and were dashed to pieces; and others, again, burned themselves in their houses, with their wives and children, so that not one of the garrison survived.

* 22,333*l.*

† One hundred camels would not carry more than 150,000*l.* in silver.

‡ The position of this place has not been fixed, if the name be correct.

Mahmood, having secured what was valuable, next invested the fort of Raja Chundpal. But he had sent off all his treasure to the mountains, and at the approach of the King evacuated the place; there, however, still remained much spoil and provisions, which Mahmood divided amongst his troops.

Mahmood from hence marched against another raja, whose name was Chundur Ray. This prince, after some skirmishes, finding himself unable to cope with the Mahomedans, sent off his treasure and other valuable effects, and fled to the mountains. Chundur Ray had an elephant of uncommon size, such as had never before been seen in Hindoostan, which was not more remarkable for its enormous bulk than for its docility and courage. Mahmood, having heard much of this elephant, sent to the Raja, offering him advantageous terms of peace, and a great sum of money for this animal. The pride of Chundur Ray did not permit him to listen to terms with Mahomedans, so that Mahmood was disappointed. The elephant, however, happened one night to break loose from his keepers, and went into the Ghiznevide camp, where it permitted itself to be mounted and brought before the King, who called it Khooda-dad, "The gift of God," because it came by accident into his hands. Mahmood, loaded with spoil and encumbered with captives, returned to Ghizny, where he caused the objects of his plunder to be displayed. They consisted of 20,000,000 of dirms* of gold and silver bullion, 5300 captives, 350

* Taking the dirm at *5d.* the sum would not amount to more than 416,666*l.* sterling.

elephants, besides jewels, pearls, and precious effects, which could not be properly estimated. Nor was the private spoil of the army less than that which came into the public treasury.

The King, on his return, ordered a magnificent mosque to be built of marble and granite, of such beauty as struck every beholder with astonishment, and furnished it with rich carpets, and with candelabras and other ornaments of silver and gold. This mosque was universally known by the name of the Celestial Bride. In its neighbourhood the King founded an university, supplied with a vast collection of curious books in various languages. It contained also a museum of natural curiosities. For the maintenance of this establishment he appropriated a large sum of money, besides a sufficient fund for the maintenance of the students, and proper persons to instruct youth in the arts and sciences.

When the nobility of Ghizny perceived the taste of their king evince itself in architecture, they also endeavoured to vie with each other in the magnificence of their private palaces, as well as in public buildings which they raised for the embellishment of the city. Thus, in a short time, the capital was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, beyond any city in the East. Some authors affirm, that among the curiosities which the King brought from India, was a bird resembling a dove, which possessed the peculiar faculty of discovering poison, however secretly conveyed into any apartment in which the bird lived. It is said, on such occasions,

the bird was affected with the smell of the poison in such a way, as to fly distractedly about its cage, while tears streamed involuntarily from the eyes. This bird, with other curiosities, was sent as a present to the Caliph of Bagdad, Alkâdir Billa. Other authors mention a stone that he brought from Hindoostan, which being dipped in water and applied to wounds, proved efficacious in healing them.

A. H. 410. A. D. 1019. The King, in the year 410, caused an account of his exploits to be written and sent to the Caliph, who ordered it to be read to the people of Bagdad, making a great festival upon the occasion, expressive of his joy at the propagation of the faith.

A. H. 412. A. D. 1021. In the year 412, a petition was presented from his subjects, setting forth, that some tribes of Arabs had for many years interrupted the communication with Mecca, so that for fear of them, and on account of the weakness of the Caliph, who neglected to expel them, and whose power had long since declined, pilgrims were unable to pay their devotions at the shrine of the Prophet. The King immediately appointed Aboo-Mahomed, the Kazy-ool-Koozat *, with a considerable force, to accompany a kafila, proceeding to Mecca, with a strong escort. But, lest the enemy should be too strong for him, he sent 30,000 dirms to procure a safe journey to the pilgrims. Accordingly many thousand individuals of all classes prepared to depart.

* This officer united the powers of chief of the high court of justice, and head of the religion.

Having reached the desert of Keid, they beheld a large encampment of Arabs pitched on their route. This banditti drew up to oppose the pilgrims. Aboo-Mahomed, being desirous of treating with them, sent a message to their chief, offering him 5000 dirms. The chief, Humad Bin Ally, instead of accepting the proposal, resented it so much, that, without delay, he advanced to attack the kafila. Aboo-Mahomed, in the mean time, drewout his troops, when, fortunately, in the very beginning of the action, a Turkish slave in the kafila, well skilled in archery, lodged an arrow in the brain of Humad Bin Ally. The Arabs, on the fall of their chief, fled; and the kafila, without further molestation, proceeded to Mecca, where having paid their devotions, they returned by the same route, and arrived at Ghizny.

Mahmood received this year advices from India that the neighbouring princes had, in his absence, attacked Koowur Ray, the Raja of Kunowj, for entering into alliance with the King, and placing himself in subjection to him. Mahmood immediately marched to his aid, but before he arrived, Nunda Ray, Raja of Kalunjur, having besieged Kunowj, slew Koowur Ray, with a number of his principal chiefs. Mahmood arrived at the Jumna, and was surprised to find that the Raja of Lahore, who had so often fled before his troops, was now encamped on the opposite bank; but the deep and formidable river prevented an immediate attack. In this state of anxiety, eight of the royal guard of Mahmood's army, without orders, swam

across, and entering the enemy's camp one morning by surprize, struck such a panic into his troops, that the Hindoos betook themselves to flight. The King, notwithstanding their success, reprobated the rashness of his guards, but supporting them with the remainder of his army, went in pursuit. It is not to be supposed, however, that eight individuals could succeed in routing a whole host, nor can it be doubted that these eight persons were officers, each followed by his own corps.

Nunda Ray, of Kalunjur, took post on the frontiers of his dominions, where he halted with his army to oppose Mahmood, having with him 36,000 horse, 45,000 foot, and 640 elephants. The King of Ghizny having reconnoitred the enemy from a rising ground, prostrated himself before God, and prayed that the standard of Islam might be successful. The day being far advanced, he determined to wait till next morning, which delay, in the event, disappointed his hopes, for Nunda Ray decamped during the night in the utmost disorder, leaving behind him his tents, equipage, and baggage.

Mahmood having reconnoitred the ground, and finding it really deserted, ordered his army to march into the enemy's camp. The booty was great, independently of 580 elephants, which were found in the neighbouring woods. Having laid waste the country with fire and sword, the Mahomedan army returned to Ghizny.

About this time the King learned that the inhabitants of two hilly tracts, denominated Kuriat

and Nardein *, continued the worship of idols †, and had not embraced the faith of Islam. This country lies apparently between Toorkistan and Hindoostan, and though its climate is extremely cold, it is remarkable for the excellence of its fruits. Mahmood resolved to carry the war against these infidels, and accordingly marched towards their country, taking with him a number of masons, carpenters, smiths, and labourers, to build a fort in order to overawe them after his departure. The ruler of the country of Kuriat, unable to oppose the King, submitted, at the same time acknowledging the faith of the Prophet. The Ghiznevide general, Ameer Ally, the son of Arslan Jazib, was now sent with a division of the army to reduce Nardein, which he accomplished, pillaging the country, and carrying away many of the people captives. In Nardein was a temple, which Ameer Ally destroyed, bringing from thence a stone on which were curious inscriptions, and which, according to the Hindoos, must have been 40,000 years old. The King ordered a fort to be built in that place, and left it under the command of Amir-Bin Kuddur Suljooky. Shortly after, Mahmood marched in the direction of Kashmeer, and on the route invested the strong-hold of Lokote, but finding it altogether impregnable, he decamped, and proceeding to Lahore, entered that city without opposition, giving it over to be sacked by his troops. Here wealth, and precious effects, beyond

* All my enquiries have failed in fixing these places.

† The India House MS. has "lions."

the power of calculation, fell into his hands. The Prince of Lahore, unable to contend with so powerful an adversary, fled to Ajmere for protection; and Mahmood, having appointed one of his officers to the government, and nominated other commanders to various districts in the territories of Hindoostan, himself returned in the spring to Ghizny.*

A. H. 414. A. D. 1023. The warlike disposition of Mahmood could not long remain at peace. He marched again by the way of Lahore, in the 414th year of the Hijra, against Nunda Ray of Kalunjur, and passing by the fort of Gualiar, he ordered it to be besieged. The Raja of Gualiar, however, prevailed on him to remove his army, by a seasonable application of rich presents, and thirty-five elephants. The army now marched against Kalunjur, and having invested that city, Nunda Ray offered 300 elephants besides other presents to obtain peace. The King agreed to the terms, and the Raja, in order to put the bravery of the Sooltan's troops to the test, intoxicated the elephants with drugs, and let them loose, without riders, into the camp. Mahmood seeing the animals advance, and perceiving their condition, by the wildness of their manner, ordered a party of his best horse to seize, or kill them, or to drive them from the camp. Some of the Tartars, emulous of displaying their bravery in the presence of their king, fearlessly approached, and

* Thus, after twenty-three years, we find Moslem governors left in India, east of the Indus.

mounted some of the elephants *, and drove the rest into an adjacent wood, where they were all soon reduced to obedience.

The enemy perceiving the resolution of the Ghiznevides, was much intimidated, and Nunda Ray, thinking to soothe Mahmood by flattery, sent to him a panegyric in the Indian tongue, on the bravery of his troops. The King was pleased with the compliment; for the poetry was much admired by the learned men of India, Arabia, and Persia, who were at his court. In return, Mahmood conferred the government of fifteen forts upon Nunda, among which was Kalunjur itself, though the peace was principally obtained by the many valuable presents in jewels and gold which Nunda Ray made on this occasion.

A. H. 415. A. D. 1024. Mahmood, in the year 415, having mustered all his forces, found them to consist of 54,000 chosen horse, and 1300 elephants, disposable for foreign service. With this army he marched to Bulkh, to expel Allytuggeen from the government of Mawur-ool-Nehr, for oppressing the people, who complained of his tyranny to the King. When the chiefs of Mawur-ool-Nehr heard that the King had crossed the Jyhoon, they came with presents to meet him. Kuddur Khan, of Khootun, also paid him the compliment of a visit, and was honourably received. Mahmood prepared a great feast upon this

*An elephant is a very docile animal; but unless a person had some knowledge of managing him, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to guide him when mounted.

occasion, and concluded a treaty, after which the monarchs took leave of each other, making an exchange of princely presents. Allytuggeen, seizing this opportunity, betook himself to flight, but the King of Ghizny sent a party of horse after him; after a long search he was discovered and brought to the camp, after which he was confined for life in one of the forts of India.

The celebrated temple of Somnat *, situated in the province of Guzerat, near the island of Dew, was in those times said to abound in riches, and was greatly frequented by devotees from all parts of Hindoostan. These infidels not only believed that souls after death went before Somnat, who transposed them into other bodies according to their merits in their former state, but also pretended that the ebb and flow of the tides represented the obeisance paid by the ocean to this shrine. Mahmood marched from Ghizny in the month of Shaban with his army, accompanied by 30,000 of the youths of Toorkistan and the neighbouring countries, who followed him without pay, for the purpose of attacking this temple.

Shaban, A. H. 415. Sept. A. D. 1024.

Somnat, which gives its name to the city, is situated on the sea-shore, and is to be seen in the district of Dew, now in the hands of Europeans. † Some historians affirm that the idol was brought

* Som signifies in Sanscrit the moon: it is well known how this planet affects the tides; and this circumstance was, no doubt, taken advantage of by the priests of Somnat to enhance the sanctity of the temple.

† The Portuguese had possession of it when Ferishta wrote.

from Mecca, where it stood before the time of the Prophet, but the Bramins deny it, and say that it stood near the harbour of Dew since the time of Krishn, who was concealed in that place about 4000 years ago.

Rumzan, 415. Oct. 1024.

In the middle of the month of Rumzan, the Mahomedan army reached the city of Mooltan; and as a great desert lay before them, the King gave orders for the troops to provide themselves with several days' water and provisions, as also with provender for their horses, besides which, 20,000 camels were laden with supplies. Having passed the desert, the army reached the city of Ajmeer. Here, finding the Raja and inhabitants had abandoned the place, rather than submit to him, Mahmood ordered it to be sacked, and the adjacent country to be laid waste. Conceiving the reduction of the fort of Ajmeer would occupy too much time, he left it unmolested; and proceeding on his expedition took by assault some smaller forts on the road, till at length he arrived at Nehrwala, a frontier city of Guzerat, which was evacuated on his approach. Mahmood, taking the same precautions as before, by rapid marches reached Somnat without opposition. Here he saw a fortification on a narrow peninsula, washed on three sides by the sea, on the battlements of which appeared a vast host of people in arms, who, making a signal for a herald to approach, they proclaimed to him that their great idol, Somnat, had drawn the Mahomedans thither to blast them in a moment, and to avenge the destruction of the gods of India. In the morning, the Mahome-

dan troops advancing to the walls, began the assault. The battlements were in a short time cleared by the archers, and the Hindoos, astonished and dispirited, crowded into the temple, and, prostrating themselves in tears before the idol, prayed for assistance. The Mahomedans, having seized this opportunity, applied their scaling ladders and mounted the walls, shouting aloud, "Alla Akbur!"* The Hindoos, urged by despair, returned to the defence of the works, and made so spirited a resistance, that the Mahomedans, unable to retain their footing, and wearied with fatigue, fell back on all sides, and were at length obliged to retire. Next morning the action was renewed, but as fast as the besiegers scaled the walls, so fast were they hurled down headlong by the besieged, who now seemed resolved to defend the place to the last. Thus the labours of the second day proved even more unsuccessful than those of the first. On the third day an army of idolaters having arrived to reinforce the garrison, presented itself in order of battle in sight of the Ghizny camp. Mahmood determined to prevent this attempt to raise the siege, and having ordered a party to keep the garrison in check, himself engaged the enemy in the field.

The battle raged with great fury: victory was long doubtful, till two Indian princes, Brahma Dew and Dabishleem, with other reinforcements, joined their countrymen during the action, and inspired them with fresh courage. Mahmood at

* The war-cry of the Moslems, "God is great!"

this moment perceiving his troops to waver, leaped from his horse, and, prostrating himself before God* implored his assistance. Then mounting again, he took Abool Hussun, the Circassian (one of his generals), by the hand, by way of encouragement, and advanced on the enemy. At the same time he cheered his troops with such energy, that, ashamed to abandon their King, with whom they had so often fought and bled, they, with one accord, gave a loud shout and rushed forwards. In this charge the Moslems broke through the enemy's line, and laid 5000 Hindoos dead at their feet. The rout became general. The garrison of Somnat, beholding this defeat, abandoned the defence of the place, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea, to the number of 4000, embarked in boats, intending to proceed to the island of Serendeep or Ceylon.† This manœuvre did not escape the King, who secured some boats left in a neighbouring creek, manned them with rowers, and some of his best troops, and pursued the enemy; on which occasion he took and sunk some of their flotilla, while a part only escaped. Having now placed guards round the walls and at the gates, Mahmood entered

* This mode of inspiring his troops, so often mentioned by the writers of the age, is extremely characteristic of the nature of the wars waged by Mahmood of Ghizny in India.

† The conclusion drawn by the Moslem historian, that the fugitives from Somnat, after embarking, were necessarily going to Ceylon, conveys an idea of the imperfect notions the early writers of that nation had of Indian geography. It is not impossible the original author calls it the port of the Deeb, or the Island of Dew, then belonging to the Daby dynasty.

Somnat accompanied by his sons and a few of his nobles and principal attendants. On approaching the temple, he saw a superb edifice built of hewn stone. Its lofty roof was supported by fifty-six pillars curiously carved and set with precious stones. In the centre of the hall was Somnat, a stone idol, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. The King, approaching the image, raised his mace and struck of its nose. He ordered two pieces of the idol to be broken off and sent to Ghizny, that one might be thrown at the threshold of the public mosque, and the other at the court door of his own palace. These identical fragments are to this day (now 600 years ago) to be seen at Ghizny. Two more fragments were reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina. It is a well authenticated fact, that when Mahmood was thus employed in destroying this idol, a crowd of Bramins petitioned his attendants, and offered a quantity of gold if the King would desist from further mutilation. His officers endeavoured to persuade him to accept of the money; for they said that breaking one idol would not do away with idolatry altogether; that, therefore, it could serve no purpose to destroy the image entirely; but that such a sum of money given in charity among true believers would be a meritorious act. The King acknowledged there might be reason in what they said, but replied, that if he should consent to such a measure, his name would be handed down to posterity as "Mahmood the idol-seller," whereas he was desirous of being known as "Mahmood the "destroyer:" he therefore directed the troops to

proceed in their work. The next blow broke open the belly of Somnat, which was hollow, and discovered a quantity of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, of much greater value than the amount which the Bramins had offered.

The author of the Hubeeb-oos-Seer relates, from other authorities, that Somnat was the name of the idol; but he is contradicted by Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Attar, who observes, that "the army of "Mahmood found in Somnat the idol whose name "was Nat." I have, however, enquired on this subject, and learn, that Soma was the name of the prince after which the idol Nat was called. Nat signifies, among the Hindoos, lord or chief, and is rendered applicable to idols. Thus we have Jug-nat, signifying the lord of the creation, to whom divine honours are offered up. In the time of eclipses we are told that from 200,000 to 300,000 worshippers used to frequent this temple, and that the different princes of Hindoostan had bestowed in all 2000 villages, the revenues of which were applied to maintain its priests. This revenue was independent of other costly presents received from all parts of the empire. It was customary, also, for those idolaters to wash Somnat twice daily with fresh water from the Ganges, though that river is above 1000 miles distant.

Among the spoils of the temple was a chain of gold, weighing 200 * muns, which hung from the top of the building by a ring; it supported a great bell, which called the people to worship. Besides

* Say 400 lb.

2000 Bramins, who officiated as priests, there belonged to the temple 500 dancing women, 300 musicians, and 300 barbers to shave the devotees before being admitted to the sanctum; and it was even usual for the princes of Hindoostan sometimes to devote their daughters to the service of the temple. The King of Ghizny found in this temple a greater quantity of jewels and gold than it is thought any royal treasury ever contained before. In the Zein-ool-Maasir it is related that there were no lights in the temple, except one pendent lamp, which, being reflected from the jewels, spread a bright gleam over the whole edifice. Besides the great idol above mentioned, there were in the temple some thousands of small images, wrought in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions.

Mahmood, having secured the wealth of Somnat, prepared to chastise the Indian prince Brahma Dew, the Raja of Nehrwala, who had assisted his countrymen during the siege, and who had cut off above 3000 of the faithful. Brahma Dew, after the taking of Somnat, instead of proceeding to Nehrwala, shut himself up in the fort of Gundaba*, distant 40 fursungs from Somnat. The King having arrived before this fort, perceived it was surrounded on all sides by water, which, on account of its extent and depth, appeared impossible to approach; sending, however, to sound it, he understood that at one place it was fordable, though not easily to be passed by an army. Mahmood having

* The position of this place has not been ascertained, unless it be Gundavee.

ordered public prayers, and having cast his fortune* on the Koran, entered the water at the head of his troops, and reaching in safety the opposite side, immediately made an assault upon the place. Brahma Dew fled at the approach of the Mahomedans; and the Hindoos who defended the fort, seeing themselves deserted, quitted their posts on the walls. The assailants, having obtained easy possession, made dreadful havoc among the men, reserving the women and children as captives. The wealth of Brahma Dew was lodged in the King's treasury.

Mahmood, thus victorious, marched to Nehrwala, the capital of Guzerat. He found the soil of that place so fertile, the air so pure and salubrious, and the country so well cultivated and pleasant, that, it is said, he proposed to take up his residence there for some years, and to make it his capital, conferring the government of Ghizny upon his son, the Prince Musaood. Some historians relate, that in that age there were gold mines in Guzerat, which induced Mahmood to wish to reside at Nehrwala; but there are now no traces of these mines, although in that time there might have been, since there are instances of the disappearance of mines, such as that in Seestan, which was swallowed up by an earthquake in the following reign. The King having heard of gold mines on the island of Ceylon, and in the country

* The Mahomedans used the Koran as school-boys sometimes apply to the "Sortes Virgilii." Few persons, who have visited Shiraz, have not heard of the *Sortes Hafizii* at the tomb of that poet.

of Pegu *, it is said, seriously intended to fit out a fleet for the conquest of those regions, but he was diverted from this scheme, and prevailed on by his officers not to abandon his native kingdom.

Mahmood, yielding to their advice, consented to return to Ghizny, at the same time requesting some of his ministers to recommend a fit person to leave in the government of Guzerat. After some consultation, they told the King, that on account of the great distance of this country from his other dominions, and the number of troops necessarily requisite for its defence, they thought it advisable that one of the natives should be made governor. The King, on further enquiry, being informed that the family of Dabishleem † was the noblest in those parts, and that one of that race was in the vicinity of the camp, living as a hermit, he resolved to place him on the throne.

Some authors, in opposition to this story, have informed us, that the hermit Dabishleem was a cruel and ambitious prince, who had made several attempts to wrest the government from his brothers, who had been compelled at length to seek an asylum within the sanctuary of a temple.

* The golden Chersonesus of the ancients.

† My enquiries have hitherto led to no satisfactory result on the subject of this family. A dynasty of Daby Rajpoots reigned at this period over Girnar, or Girnal Joonagur, in Kattywar, but it is hard to say this was one of them. On this passage, I am indebted to a learned friend for the following observations. The princes of Girnar were of the Daby race. Sinpam Daby was the uncle of *Asil*, who established the Asila Gehlûtes at Asilgurh on his uncle's domain, two centuries before Mahmood. In the East-India-House manuscript the name is Dabasila.

The Dabishleem, however, alluded to in the first instance, was another person of the same family, celebrated for his wisdom and learning, and, although the ruler of a province only, the whole of the Bramins of that part of the country highly respected him for the soundness of his judgment and good qualities. The King accordingly sent a friendly message, inviting Dabishleem to his presence, and, having fixed an annual tribute, created him governor of Guzerat.

That Prince, petitioned him to leave some troops for his protection; asserting, that the other Dabishleem, as soon as Mahmood should vacate the country, would, undoubtedly, attack him, before his authority should be thoroughly established, the consequences of which might be easily foreseen; but if the King would afford him his protection, he would remit, annually, double the revenue of Kabulistan and Zabulistan. These considerations prevailed with Mahmood to form a design to reduce the Prince Dabishleem before he left the country. He accordingly sent a part of his army to seize him, which, in a short time, brought him prisoner to Mahmood. He immediately delivered over the unfortunate Raja into the hands of his kinsman, the new ruler of Guzerat.

The Governor, addressing the King, said, "That "it was contrary to the tenets of his religion to "put a king to death, but that it was customary "when one king got possession of another (his "enemy), to make a dark pit under his throne, "and there confine him for life, or till the death "of his conqueror. That, for his own part, he

"deemed such usage too cruel, while, on the "other hand (he said), if the Raja be confined in "another prison, his adherents will, on the King's "departure, attempt to release him." The new Raja, therefore, proposed, that the King should carry the former Raja to Ghizny. Mahmood complied, and after two years and six months, absence from his capital, directed his steps homewards. Intelligence being now received, that Brahma Dew and the Raja of Ajmeer, with others, had collected a great army in the desert to oppose his return, Mahmood determined to march direct by the route of Sind to Mooltan. Here, also, he encountered deserts on his march, wherein his army suffered greatly for want of water, and his cavalry for want of forage; but in the year 417 he reached Ghizny, though not without much difficulty and loss. During his journey through the country of Sind, the army was misled for three days and nights by one of the Hindoo guides, in a sandy desert; so that many of the troops died raving mad from the intolerable heat and thirst. Mahmood suspecting his guide, commanded him to be put to the torture, when he confessed, that he was one of the priests of Somnat, who, to revenge the injuries done to the temple, had thus endeavoured to bring about the ruin of the Ghiznevide army. The King ordered him to be executed; and, it being towards evening, he fell prostrate before God, imploring a speedy deliverance. A meteor was suddenly seen in the north, to which direction he

A. H. 417.
A. D. 1026.

shaped his course, and, before morning, found himself on the border of a lake.*

Dabishleem the Wise, being established on the throne of Guzerat, remitted tribute punctually to the King, and having sent a splendid embassy, he requested that the imprisoned Raja might be made over to him. That prince had by this time gained the regard of Mahmood, who was now unwilling to part with him. He was, however, over-persuaded by his counsellors, who were envious of the favour which the unfortunate Raja had acquired, and he was accordingly delivered into the hands of the person who brought the Guzerat tribute to Ghizny.

When they reached the dominions of Guzerat, Dabishleem the Wise gave orders to construct a vault under his own throne, in which he intended to confine the unhappy Raja, according to the custom of the Hindoos. In order to display his own power more completely, he advanced to some distance from his capital to meet his prisoner, and compelled that unfortunate prince to run before his horse, with a basin and ewer in his hand.

The King of Guzerat, it is said, being overheated on this occasion, lay down to repose under a shady

* This water was probably the great western run or salt marsh. The course of the retreat of Mahmood is so indefinitely stated, that we cannot trace it satisfactorily. According to tradition, Mahmood attacked and reduced Chotun the ancient capital of the Haupa dynasty: it lies about 50 miles nearly east of Oomurkote, vide "Tod's Map." If this occurred in his retreat to Ghizny, we have some guide to point out his route, which might have been by Oomurkote, and thence northward; taking the course of the river till it falls into the Sind at Bukkur.

tree: he drew a red handkerchief over his face, and ordered his attendants to withdraw. A vulture, which happened to be hovering over the spot, mistaking the red handkerchief for prey, pounced down on Dabishleem, and fixing its talons in his eyes rendered him totally blind, and thereby incapable to reign, according to the laws of the country. When the accident became public, the whole camp and city were filled with confusion. The imprisoned prince arriving at that instant, was received with acclamations, and instantly proclaimed king. He put the basin on the head of Dabishleem, and having placed the ewer in his hand, drove him before him into the dungeon which he himself had prepared, where he spent the remainder of his life. How wonderful are thy works, O God! who in the twinkling of an eye converted the punishment awarded by one prince to another into an instrument of his own destruction; thus fulfilling the Scripture, in which it is written, "He who digs a pit for his brother, shall "himself fall therein."

The author of the Jama ool Hikayat relates, that when Mahmood was in Guzerat he saw a small black idol under an arch, which to all appearance was suspended in the air without support. The King, amazed at this phenomenon, consulted the philosophers of his court, who told him that they believed the image to be iron, and the stone of the arch magnetic. The King observed, that he thought the equilibrium of weight and attraction could not be so exactly found. He, however, by way of experiment, ordered a stone to be struck out of

the arch, which was no sooner done, than the idol fell to the ground; the stone was therefore pronounced to be a magnet. The Caliph of Bagdad, being informed of the expedition of the King of Ghizny, wrote him a congratulatory letter, in which he styled him "The Guardian of the State, and "of the Faith *;" to his son, the Prince Ameer Musaood, he gave the title of "The Lustre of "Empire, and the Ornament of Religion," and to his second son, the Ameer Yoosoof, the appellation of "The Strength of the Arm of Fortune, and Esta-"blisher of Empires." He at the same time assured Mahmood, that to whomsoever he should bequeath the throne at his death, he himself would confirm and support the same.

In the end of the year Mahmood marched against the Juts †, residing in the Jood mountains, who had molested his army on its return from Somnat. Having arrived at Mooltan, and finding that the country of the Juts was intersected by rivers, he ordered 1400 boats to be

* I have given the titles translated, for which the European reader will probably commend, and Oriental scholars condemn, me.

† We have no satisfactory account of these Juts; but there seems reason to believe them to be a horde of Tartars of the same stock as the Getæ, so often mentioned in ancient history, and who are so frequently noticed in the wars of Tymoor by Ibn Arab Shah and Shureefood Deen Ally. It is conjectured, even, that the Jats, the gallant defenders of Bhurtpoor, are a branch of the same people. My friend Col. Tod has in his possession a long description of this people, and inscriptions in the nail-headed or Budhish character, of the fourth and fifth centuries, regarding them. They had then a kingdom in northern India, whose capital was Salindrapoor.

built, each of which was armed with six iron spikes, projecting from the prows and sides, to prevent their being boarded by the enemy, who were expert in that kind of warfare. In each boat were twenty archers and five naphtha-men, to attack and set fire to the enemy's flotilla. The Juts, having intelligence of this armament, sent their wives and children, together with their most valuable effects, into the neighbouring islands, and launching, according to some, 4000, and according to others, 8000 boats, ready manned and armed, they prepared to receive the Mahomedans. The fleets met, and a desperate conflict ensued, but the projecting spikes of the Moslem boats did such execution when they ran against the craft of the Juts, that several of them were overset. The archers, at the same time, plied their arrows with such effect, that many of the enemy leaped overboard. Some of the Jut boats being in the mean time set on fire communicated their flames to others; some were sunk, some boarded, and others endeavoured to fly. From this scene of confusion few of the Juts escaped, so that those who were not killed fell into the hands of Mahmood.*

A. H. 418. A. D. 1027. The King after this victory returned in triumph to Ghizny, and in the year 418 removed the governor of Toos (Abool Hurb Arslan †) to the government of the

* It is a curious fact that this naval engagement occurred at the same place where Alexander equipped his fleet thirteen centuries before.

† Probably, the son of his favourite and distinguished general, Arslan Jazib.

district of Badwird, in order to chastise the Suljook Toorkmans *, who, having crossed the river Amoo, had invaded that province. The General, however, being defeated in several engagements, wrote to the King, that without his own presence nothing could be done against the enemy. Mahmood put his army in motion, and having come up with the Suljooks, gave them a total defeat. At this time, also, his generals having conquered Eerak † he himself marched in that direction, and secured all the treasure that had been amassed by the race of Boeia. Having then introduced some new laws ‡ respecting the religion of the inhabitants who had adopted false tenets, he conferred the government of Rye and Isfahan on his son, the Prince Musaood, and returned to Ghizny.

Mahmood was soon after affected with the stone, which disorder daily increased. He went in this condition to Bulkh, and in the beginning of the spring returned to Ghizny, where, on Friday

* This appears to have been the first effort of that great horde, which, penetrating through Transoxania and Persia (Eeran and Tooran), subdued both Eeraks, and subverted the whole of Asia Minor.

† Persian Eerak, including Rye, Cashan, Isfahan, and Humadan.

‡ The exact laws are not mentioned, but it is probable he insisted on the adoption of the Soony tenets, as the national religion of Persia, instead of the Sheea. Upon this subject Mahmood was bigotted, as appears by his conduct towards Firdowsy.

Rubee-oos-Sany, 23. A. H. 421. April 29. A. D. 1030.

the 23d of Rubee-oos-Sany, A. H. 421, in the sixty-third year of his age, this great conqueror gave up his body to death and his soul to immortality, amid the tears of his people.

Mahmood reigned thirty-five years, and was buried by torchlight with great pomp and solemnity in the Kesr Firozy at Ghizny. Sooltan Mahmood was in person about the middle size, but well made. He was also strongly marked with the small-pox.

It is a well-established fact, that two days before his death, he commanded all the gold and caskets of precious stones in his possession to be placed before him: when he beheld them he wept with regret, ordering them to be carried back to the treasury, without exhibiting his generosity at that time to any body, for which he has been accused of avarice. * On the following day he ordered a review of his army, his elephants, camels, horses, and chariots, with which having feasted his eyes for some time from his travelling throne, he again burst into tears, and retired in grief to his palace.

Abool Hussun Ally, the son of Hussun Mymundy, relates, that the King one day asked Aboo Tahir Samany, what quantity of valuable jewels the Samany dynasty had accumulated when it became extinct? He replied, that in the reign of Ameer Nooh Samany the treasury contained seven ruttuls weight of precious stones. Mahmood flung himself prostrate on the floor, and cried out,

* The regret he is supposed to have felt at being separated from his treasures is beautifully alluded to by Sady, in his Goolistan.

"Thanks to thee, all-powerful Being, who ha
"enabled me to collect more than 100 ruttuls."

It is also said that in the latter end of his reign Mahmood, on hearing that a citizen of Nyshapoor possessed immense wealth, he commanded him to be called into his presence, and reproached him for being an idolater and an apostate from the faith. The citizen replied, "O King I am no "idolater nor apostate, but I am possessed of "wealth; take it, therefore, but do me not a "double injustice, by robbing me of my money "and of my good name." The King, having confiscated his whole property, gave him a certificate under the royal seal, of the purity of his religious tenets. According to the Tubkat Nasiry it appears that Mahmood was sceptical on certain religious points, and questioned the orthodoxy of the opinions of the learned, especially on the use of penances. He even professed his doubt of a future state, and did not hesitate to say, he questioned whether he was really the son of Subooktugeen.* He dreamed, however, one night that he saw the Prophet standing before him, who addressed him thus: "O son of Ameer Nasir "Subooktugeen, may God give thee honour in "both worlds, as he has conferred it on man by his "precepts!" So that the three points of his scepticism were removed by this short sentence. It is related that a violent flood occurred in Ghizny the year after his death, which levelled most of

* It is difficult to believe this assertion, although Firdowsy alludes pretty plainly, in his satire, to the loose character of Mahmood's mother.

the principal buildings to the ground, and many people lost their lives on the occasion. This same flood carried away the embankment constructed in the reign of Amroo Bin Leith Suffar, so that not a vestige of it remained; and this calamity was considered at the time as a sample of the destruction that was eventually to befall the empire.

The following instance of his justice has been transmitted to posterity. A petitioner one day complained, that owing to his having a handsome wife the King's nephew had conceived a passion for her, and came to his house every night with armed attendants, and beat him and turned him into the street, till he gratified his adulterous passion; that he had frequently complained to those who ought to have done him justice, but that the rank of the adulterer had hitherto protected him.

The King, on hearing this, shed tears of indignation, and reproved the poor man for not making his complaint sooner. The man replied he often attempted, but could not gain admittance. He was then commanded to return to his house, and to give the King notice the first time his nephew was guilty of the like violence, charging those who were present, on pain of death, to let nothing of this subject transpire, at the same time ordering the poor man to be admitted at any hour. Accordingly the man returned to his house.

On the third night, the King's nephew as usual came, and having whipped the husband severely, turned him into the street. The poor man hastened to the King, but the captain of the guards refused him admittance, saying that his

Majesty was in the seraglio. The man immediately vociferated loudly, so that the porter, fearing the court might be disturbed, and the noise reach the King, was under the necessity of conducting him to the officers of the bed-chamber, who immediately acquainted Mahmood.

The King instantly arose, and wrapping himself in a loose cloak, followed the man to his house. He found his nephew and the man's wife sleeping together in one bed, with a candle standing on the carpet near them. Mahmood, extinguishing the candle, drew his sword, and severed his nephew's head from his body. Then commanding the man to bring a light, he called for water, and having taken a deep draught, he told him he might now go and sleep with safety, if he could trust his own wife.

The poor man fell at the King's feet in gratitude, but begged him to say, why he put out the candle, and afterwards called so eagerly for water to drink? The King replied, he put out the candle that pity might not arrest his hand in the execution of his duty, for that he tenderly loved the youth; and, moreover, said, he had made a vow to God, when he first heard the complaint, that he would neither eat nor drink till he had brought the criminal to justice, which was the cause of his intense thirst. Let it not be concealed from my learned readers, that although we have many well authenticated stories of the inflexible justice of some virtuous monarchs, we have no other instance of this nature. God only knows the hearts of his people.

According to the Hubeeb-oos-Séer, the first person who exercised the office of vizier at the court of Mahmood was Abool Abass Fuzeel, the son of Ahmud Isferahy. He was originally the secretary of Fâïk, one of the nobles of the house of Samany; but after the fall of Fâïk, Abool Abass entered the service of Subooktugeen, and eventually became his vizier, an office which he continued to hold under his son Mahmood. As Abool Abass Fuzeel was more a man of business than of learning, and was ignorant of the Arabic language, he introduced, for the first time, the practice of writing public papers in Persian; but when Khwaja Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, became minister, he reverted to the Arabic language for all permanent official documents. Abool Abass Fuzeel was remarkable for his address in the management of public affairs, and for his extraordinary faculty for conciliation. Thus eliciting the zeal, and securing the fidelity, of all with whom he had to deal. He was, however, removed from the vizarut about two years after the succession of Mahmood. Somé historians affirm, that he displeased his master by contumaciously withholding from him an object in the family of Abool Abass on whom Mahmood had fixed his affection. It is stated that he was imprisoned, and that he eventually died under the rack, to which he was subjected in order to discover his wealth. He was succeeded by Khwaja Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, the foster-brother and school-fellow of his sovereign. His father Hussun, during the reign of Subooktugeen, was the collector of the revenues

of Boost; but in consequence of having been convicted of extortion and fraud to a large amount, he was hanged by order of Subooktugeen; so that the general notion which prevails, that Hussun Mymundy was the vizier of Sooltan Mahmood, is erroneous. Khwaja Ahmud, his son, was as celebrated for writing a beautiful hand as for his talents or his learning. He first held the office of chief secretary, and rose by degrees till he attained the office of Moostowfy-ool-Moomalik, "controller "of revenues and paymaster-general of the army." He was subsequently sent to occupy Khorassan, and to govern it; and on the removal of Abool Abass Fuzeel succeeded to the office of vizier, and held it uninterruptedly for eighteen years. He was then disgraced, owing to the intrigues of Altoon Tash, the commander-in-chief, and Ameer Ally Cheshawundy, and confined for thirteen years on the frontier of Kashmeer, in a hill-fort called Kalunjur. He was, however, afterwards released, and obtained the vizarut in the reign of Sooltan Musaood, and died a natural death in the year 424, A.D. 1033. Khwaja Ahmud Mymundy was succeeded by Ahmud Hoossein, the son of Michael, who had been a confidential officer about his sovereign's person from his youth, and was much distinguished for his talents. He was, however, eventually put to death at Bulkh, by Musaood, on the plea of his having received and worn a dress presented to him by the Caliph of Egypt, on the occasion of his going on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The learned men who lived at the court of Mahmood were principally these: the poet Oozery

Razy, a native of Rye in Persia. On one occasion he received a present of 14,000 dirms from Mahmood for a short panegyric. Assudy Toosy, a native of the province of Khorassan, also a poet of great fame, whom the Sooltan often entreated to undertake the Shah Nama, but he excused himself on account of his age. His best works are supposed to be lost. He was the master of Firdowsy, who afterwards composed the Shah Nama. When Firdowsy left Ghizny and went to Toos, on finding himself too weak to finish his poem, owing to the state of his health, he applied to his old master Assudy; telling him that he was now at the point of death, and that his only regret for leaving this vain world was that his poem was yet incomplete. The old man, weeping, replied, that though he had excused himself to the King from having any hand in that performance, yet for the affection he bore to Firdowsy, he would undertake to go on with it. The dying poet replied, that he was well assured no other man of the age had the genius to accomplish it, but at the same time he was afraid years and infirmities would prevent his performing his promise. The old man, warmed with friendship, made the attempt, and composed that part of the poem between the Arabian conquest of the western Persia to the end, consisting of 4000 couplets.

Munoo-chéhr, a noble of Bulkh, was also famous for his poetry and wit. The philosopher Oonsury was deemed the greatest genius in that age; for besides being one of the best poets, he was at the same time profound in science, and skilled in all

the learned languages. Four hundred poets and learned men, besides the students of the university of Ghizny, acknowledged him for their master. He was appointed by the King to superintend literature; and no work could be brought before Mahmood without being previously submitted for his approbation.

Among the works of Oonsury is an heroic poem on the actions of Mahmood. The King having one night in a debauch cut off the long tresses of his favourite mistress, was much concerned in the morning for what he had done. He sat, he rose, he walked by turns, and his attendants were alarmed to approach him. The philosopher Oonsury accosted him with some extempore lines, which so pleased the King that he ordered his mouth to be thrice filled with jewels. Calling then for wine, he sat with the poet and washed down his grief. Oonsury died A. H. 431.

Asjuddy of Murv is a powerful poet, and one of the scholars of Oonsury. He evinces in his works much genius; but they are scarce, and the greatest part of them is lost. Furokhy was also a pupil of Oonsury. He was a descendant of the royal race of Seestan, but reduced by fortune so low, that he was obliged to hire himself to a farmer for the yearly wages of 200 kylies * of grain, and 100 dirms. Being desirous of marrying a lady of his own family and a distant relative, he could not afford it, without an increase of his wages, which he requested his master to

* A kylie weighs five pounds.

give him. The farmer told him he certainly deserved a great deal more, but that his means would not admit it. Furokhy in this state of dependence waited on the Sooltan's nephew, Abool Moozuffur, with a poem, for which he was honoured with a handsome reward, besides a horse and a dress. After this he was introduced by the same prince to the King, who settled a pension on him, which enabled him to ride with a retinue of twenty well mounted servants.

Dukeeky flourished also in this reign: he commenced the Shah Nama, but only lived to complete a thousand couplets.

SOOLTAN MAHOMED-GHIZNEVY

Ascends the throne. — The household troops under their officers quit Ghizny. — They are attacked by the King's troops. — The latter defeated. — The household troops proceed to join the King's elder brother, Musaood, at Nyshapoor. — Musaood marches to Ghizny to claim the throne. — Mahomed is seized by his uncle, Ameer Yoosoof, and others, and deposed. — The confederates proceed to join Musaood, who is proclaimed king.

At the time of Mahmood's death, his son Mahomed was in the province of Joorjan, and the Prince Musaood in Ispahan. Ameer Ally, son of Kuzil Arslan, the father-in-law of Mahmood, invited the Prince Mahomed to Ghizny, and according to the will of his father, placed the crown upon his head. Mahomed, on his accession, conferred the office of Sipasalar* on his uncle Ameer Yoosoof Subooktugeen, and that of Vizier on Aboo Soheil Ahmud, son of Hussun Humadany. He opened the treasury also, and gave largesses to his friends, and on the public servants likewise he bestowed liberal donations. The hearts of the soldiery and people, however, were chiefly devoted to his brother Ameer Musaood.

About 50 days after the death of Mahmood, one of the nobles, by name Abool-Nujm Ameer Ayaz, the son of Isaac, having, in conjunction with Ally Dabye, gained over the household troops, entered

* Commander of the army.

the royal stables in broad daylight, and mounting the King's best horses rode off towards Boost. Mahomed, informed of this circumstance, despatched Sewund Ray, an Indian chief, with a numerous body of Hindoo cavalry, in pursuit of them. Having come up with the nobles in a few days, a skirmish ensued, in which Sewund Ray and the greatest part of his troops were killed, but not without a heavy loss on the side of the insurgents. The rebel chiefs, continued to pursue their journey to the Prince Musaood, whom they met at Nyshapoor. Musaood having heard of his father's decease when at Humadan, left governors in the provinces of Persian Eerak, and hastened towards Khorassan. On his arrival he wrote to his brother, that he had no intention of disputing those countries with him, which his father, in spite of his own preferable right, had been pleased to bequeath on Mahomed; observing, that the provinces of Joorjistan, Tubristan, and Eerak, most of which he had acquired by his own sword, were ample for himself. He only insisted so far on his birthright as to have his name read first in the Khootba* over all his dominions. These princes were twins; but Mahomed was the elder by some hours, and, consequently, had an undoubted right to succeed. Enmity had always subsisted between them; and Mahomed, on the present occasion, having returned an answer of defiance to his brother, prepared for war, in spite

* Khootba is the public prayer for the King's welfare, read daily at mosques. The reading of the Khootba, an coining money, are amongst the peculiar privileges of royalty.

of his counsellors, who opposed so unnatural a proceeding.

Rumzan 1. A. H. 421. Sept. 23. A. D. 1030. Putting his army in motion, and leaving Ghizny on the 1st Rumzan, he proceeded to meet Musaood at Tukeeabad, where he halted during the fast a whole month, and a most unpropitious delay it was for him.* While there, his crown falling accidently from his head, it was taken as a bad omen by his army. Accordingly, upon the 3d night of Shuwal, a confederacy having been formed by Ameer Ally Cheshawundy, Ameer Yoosoof Subooktugeen, and Hoossein Michael, they sounded to arms, and putting themselves at the head of the troops, surrounded the King's tents, seized his person, and sent him prisoner to the fort of Wally, which the people of Kandahar at this day call Khullij.† They now marched the army to Hirat, and joining the Prince Musaood, swore allegiance to him.

Shuwal 3. October 26.

Musaood marched to Bulkh, where he ordered Hoosein Michael to be hanged, on the plea of his having condescended, on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, to wear a dress presented to him by the Caliph of Egypt; but it is also said, a private pique existed, which hastened the death of Hoosein; for he was once heard to say in public, that if ever Musaood became king, he would suffer himself to be hanged. Ameer Ally also had his head struck off for his ingratitude to his prince;

* This town is situated 30 miles N. of Ghizny.

† The position of this place is not determined, unless it be the Kilay Meer Wully of Mr. Elphinstone.

and Ameer Yoosoof, the other conspirator, although the King's uncle, was imprisoned for life. Shortly after, the Prince Mahomed was deprived of his eye-sight, so that his reign scarcely lasted five months; but after nine years' imprisonment he again ascended the throne for one year, and was eventually put to death by his nephew Modood, the son of Musaood.

SOOLTAN MUSAOOD I. GHIZNEVY.

Musaood ascends the throne — his great strength. — The Suljooky Toorkmans invade Khorassan and Samarkand. — His general, Altoon Tash, sent to Samarkand to oppose the Suljooks, but is killed. — Magnanimous conduct of Altoon Tash previous to his death. — A truce concluded. — Samarkand ceded to Allytugeen Suljook. — Musaood marches towards India — attacks the fort of Soorsutty. — Dreadful famine throughout Persia — succeeded by the plague — 40,000 souls die in Isfahan. — Suljooks invade Nyshapoor. — The King sends an army against them — they are defeated in the first instance, but subsequently return and defeat the Ghiznevides. — The King takes no farther steps against the Suljooks, but proceeds to Ghizny — he proclaims his son, Modood, his heir and successor, and confers on him the government of Bulkh. — The King marches into India — attacks Hansy, and carries it by storm. — Sonput evacuated. — The King returns to Ghizny, leaving his son, Modood, at Lahore. — Farther incursions of the Suljooks on Bulkh, under their leader, Toghrul Beg. — The King throws a bridge across the Jeihoon, and enters Transoxania. — Toghrul Beg passes to the rear of his army, and appears suddenly before Ghizny. — The King makes peace with Mungoo Khan Suljook, and agrees to cede territory to him — attacks and defeats a horde of Suljooks at Badwird, but is defeated at Suruksh by them in the following year. — Musaood's personal prowess and courage — sends his eldest son, Modood, to defend Bulkh, and his younger son, Mādood, to Lahore. — The Prince Yezeedyar is sent to keep the Afghans in check. — The King retires to Lahore. — Mutiny in his army: — they seize the treasure. — Musaood deposed — his brother, Mahomed, elevated to the throne by the troops. — The death of Musaood — his character — literary attainments.

MUSAOOD, full of liberality and valour, acquired the title of Roostoom the Second. His arrow,

after piercing the strongest mail, penetrated the hide of an elephant, and his iron mace was so ponderous, that no man of his time could raise it with one hand. By his bold and independent language he frequently offended his father, who for that reason fixed his affections on his brother Mahomed, a prince of a more mild and tractable disposition. It is related in the Tubkat Nasiry, on the authority of Khwaja Aboo Nusr Mukutty, that Sooltan Mahmood privately intimated to the Caliph of Bagdad, that in addressing him he wished the Caliph to insert the name of the Prince Mahomed before that of Musaood. The next letter which came was read aloud in court, and many of the nobles expressed their surprise and indignation at this unusual circumstance. Aboo Nusr states, that on leaving the durbar he himself followed Musaood to the door, and told him that what he had heard gave him the utmost concern, for that his own inclination, as well as the hearts of most of the nobles, were all in his favour. The Prince replied, with a smile, Give yourselves no concern about it: dominion belongs to the longest sword. One of the King's attendants overhearing this conversation, gave information of it to his father Mahmood, who sent for Aboo Nusr, and asked him what had passed between him and the Prince Musaood. Aboo Nusr, conceiving truth would be his best defence, related the particulars. The King observed, he entertained a high regard for Musaood, who he foresaw would one day be king, but that the Prince Mahomed had

gained his affections by filial duty, and more implicit obedience.

Musaood on his accession released Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, who by the orders of the Emperor Mahmood had been imprisoned in the fort of Kalunjur *, situated on the Indian frontier, and again made him vizier. The accounts of Ameer Ahmud, the son of Danieltugeen the treasurer, being found deficient, the King obliged him to refund a great sum for mal-practices in his office. He was subsequently appointed governor in Hindoostan, and ordered to proceed to Lahore. At the same time Mujd-ood-Dowla Delimy, who had been imprisoned in one of the forts of Hindoostan, was released and called to court.

A. H. 422. A. D. 1031. The King, in the year 422, having left Bulkh came to Ghizny, and sent an army to Kech † and Mikran, causing the coin of both provinces to be struck in his name. The prince of those countries died about that time and left two sons, Abool Asakir and Eesa: the younger brother taking possession of the government, Abool Asakir had recourse for aid to the Emperor Musaood, to whom the fugitive prince promised an annual tribute, and to hold his dominions, when recovered, of him. Musaood accordingly sent an army with Abool Asakir, giving orders to his general to reconcile, if

* Ferishta does not mean the fort in Bundlekund of the same name, but that in the Punjab.

† This province must not be confounded with Kutch, near Guzerat.

possible, the difference between the brothers, and to divide the country equally between them, but if this could not be effected, to put Abool Asakir in possession of the whole.

The Ghiznevide army arrived on the frontiers; but so obstinate was Eesa that he would accede to no terms of accommodation; and though deserted by many friends who joined his brother, he determined to decide the contest by the sword. He fought with great bravery, and was slain in the conflict. The provinces thus fell into the hands of Abool Asakir, who paid tribute henceforward to the Emperor of Ghizny.

Musaood, in the same year, bestowed the vice-royship of Rye in Persia, of Humadan, and the whole of Joorjistan, upon Tash (one of his own domestic sweepers), a man who, though raised from the lowest office in the camp, displayed uncommon abilities in reducing those provinces to obedience. After the departure of the King, those countries of which he had himself before been governor revolted. Tash not only reduced them to subjection, but also chastised Alla-ood-Dowla, the Ghiznevide governor of Khorassan, who had been tampering with the rebels.

Musaood, having settled affairs at Ghizny, intended to march to Ispahan and Rye; but when he arrived at Hirat, the inhabitants of Suruksh and Badwird complained to him of the ravages of the Suljooky Toorkmans. The King, moved by the complaint of his subjects, ordered Abdool Raees, the son of Abdool Azeez, a brave general, with a large force to attack these invaders. This officer,

however, met with great opposition from the Toorkmans, and the King, without having accomplished his object, was constrained to return to Ghizny.

A. H. 423. A. D. 1032. In the year 423, the King commanded Altoon Tash to proceed from Khwaruzm, with his army, to oppose Allytugeen Suljook, who had invaded and conquered Samarkand and Bokhara. Altoon Tash marched to Mawur-ool-Nehr, having been reinforced in the neighbourhood of Bulkh by 15,000 horse detached for the purpose from Ghizny. With this army he crossed the river Amoo, and continued his route to Bokhara, which having fallen without much opposition, he proceeded to Samarkand. Allytugeen, quitting the city, occupied a small village in the vicinity, having a river and a wood on one side, and a high mountain on the other. In this position he was attacked by Altoon Tash, when a party of Allytugeen's horse, issuing from behind a hill on one flank, attacked the Ghiznevide army in the rear. A great slaughter ensued, and Altoon Tash was severely wounded in a part of the body in which he had formerly received a blow from a catapulta in taking one of the forts of Hindoostan. He, however, concealed the circumstance from his army; and having charged the enemy's troops with great gallantry, they were put to flight after an obstinate and bloody conflict. After the battle Altoon Tash, assembling his principal officers, showed them his wound, and told them his end was approaching; that they must now manage their own affairs; intimating, at the same time, that he thought it would be advisable to conclude a peace with the enemy. This

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advice being approved, a messenger was despatched to Allytugeen, that very night, with proposals, which were eagerly accepted. The conditions were, that Allytugeen should keep possession of Samarkand, and that Bokhara should remain in the hands of Musaood. The two armies separated on the following day, the one for Samarkand, and the other for Khorassan. Altoon Tash died the day after; but his death being concealed from the army, the chiefs conducted the troops to Khwaruzm. When these accounts reached the King, he conferred the government on Haroon, the son of Altoon Tash. During this year the excellent Vizier Khwaja Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, died, and was succeeded in his office by Aboo Nusr Ahmud, the son of Mahomed, the son of Abool Sumud, private secretary to Haroon, the son of Altoon Tash, who was now invited from Khwaruzm for the purpose of receiving the official seals.

A. H. 424. A. D. 1033. In the year 424, the King resolved on making an expedition into India. He took the route of Soorsutty, situated among the hills of Kashmeer; the garrison of which fort being intimidated, sent messengers to the King, promising valuable presents, and an annual tribute, if he would desist from his enterprise. Musaood felt disposed to listen to the proposals, until he understood that some Mahomedan merchants, having been seized by the garrison, were then captives in the place. He accordingly broke up the conference, and besieged the fort, ordering the ditch to be filled up with sugar-canes *, from the adjacent plantations.

* This plant is indigenous to India.

This being done, he caused scaling-ladders to be applied to the walls; and the fort, after a bloody contest, was taken. The garrison, without distinction, was put to the sword, except the women and children, who were carried off by the soldiers as slaves. The King, moreover, commanded that a part of the spoil should be given to the Mahomedans who had been prisoners in Soorsutty, and who had formerly lost their effects. This year was remarkable for a great drought and famine in many parts of the world. The famine was succeeded by a pestilence which swept many thousands from the face of the earth; for in less than one month 40,000 persons died in Ispahan alone. Nor did it rage with less violence in Hindoostan, where whole countries were entirely depopulated. In the neighbourhood of Moosul and Bagdad also, the joodry (plague) raged to such a degree, that hardly a single house escaped without losing one or two of the family.

A. H. 424.
A. D. 1033.

In the year 425 Musaood marched his army to the north, in the direction of Amol and Sary. The inhabitants opposed him in his progress, but they were dispersed by the imperial troops with little opposition. Aba Kalunjar*, the Prince of Tubristan, sent an ambassador, subjecting himself and his country to the King, at the same time sending his son Bahmun, and his nephew Sherooya, the son of Soorkhab, to meet the King in the province of Koorkan. Mu-

A. H. 425.
A. D. 1034.

* It is remarkable, if true, that any of the descendants of the ancient Persians should have reigned in Tubristan, without being converted, at so late a period as 424 of the Hijra.

saood from thence marched towards Ghizny, and arrived at Nyshapoor. The inhabitants continued to complain bitterly of the incursions of the Suljooks; and the King sent Boghtudy, and Hoosein the son of Michael, with a force to attack them. When the Ghiznevide army reached the village of Sendooz, a messenger came from the Toorkmans with a letter to the following purpose: that "they "were the King's servants, and not at all desirous "to disturb any body but his enemies, provided "they were enabled, by receiving an annual sub- "sidy, to live at home without plunder, or were "led out to war, that they might exercise what they "deemed their only profession." The answer of Boghtudy was imperious and haughty. "I hold "no communion with you," said he, "but with "the sword, unless you give over your depreda- "tions, and submit yourselves implicitly to the "authority of the King."

The Suljooks, on hearing this message from their ambassador, advanced, and made a violent assault upon the camp of Boghtudy, but were repulsed, and obliged to fly, while Boghtudy, pursuing them with rapidity, took all their baggage, their wives, and their children. But returning from the pursuit, while yet many of his troops were dispersed and intent on plunder, a body of the Suljooks issued from between two hills, and made a dreadful slaughter among his soldiers, whom he was unable to form with any regularity. The Ghiznevides defended themselves individually with great gallantry, and retreated for two days and nights. Hoossein, the son of Michael, could

not be persuaded to quit the field, so that after most of his men were killed, he himself fell into the hands of the enemy. Boghtudy fled, and carried advice of his own defeat to the King at Nyshapoor.

A.H. 426. A. D. 1035. Musaood endeavoured, in vain, to conceal his resentment and shame, and marched back to Ghizny, in the year 426. In this year, also, one Tatiah *, an Indian chief, was employed to attack Ahmud, the son of Danieltugeen, who had rebelled in his government. On this occasion, Tatiah was slain, and his troops defeated with great slaughter. Musaood, informed of this disaster, sent Tilok, the son of Jye Sein †, the commander of all the Indian troops, to reinforce him, who pursued the enemy so closely that many thousands fell into his hands, whom he mutilated by cutting off their ears and noses. Ahmud reached the banks of the Indus, and endeavouring to cross the river, was drowned in the attempt. His corpse was soon after found, and his head being severed from his body, was sent to Ghizny.

A.H. 427. A. D. 1036. In the year 427, a new palace was finished at Ghizny. In it was a golden throne, studded with jewels, erected in

* The name is written differently in various manuscripts.

† It is a remarkable fact, that even at so early a period of the history, the King of Ghizny should have a portion of his army composed of unconverted Hindoos, as is apparent from their names. It seems likely they were the local troops of Lahore.

a magnificent hall; over which was suspended, by a golden chain, a crown of gold, weighing 70 muns *, emitting lustre from numerous precious stones, forming a canopy for the King when he sat in state to give public audience. In the same year he conferred the ensigns and drums of royalty on his son the Prince Modood, and sent him to the government of Bulkh, whilst he himself marched with an army to India, to reduce the fort of Hansy, which, according to the Tubkat Nasiry, is the ancient capital of Sewalik. The Hindoos reckoned it impregnable, and were taught to believe it would never fall into the hands of the Mahomedans. On this occasion the Indian soothsayers, like those of other nations, deceived their followers, for in the space of six days the King escaladed the place, and took it by storm. Herein he found immense treasure; and having put the fort under the charge of a trusty officer, he marched towards the fort of Sonput. Depal Hurry, the governor of Sonput, abandoned the place, and fled into the woods; but having no time to carry off his treasure, it fell into the conqueror's hands. Musaood having ordered all the temples to be rased to the ground, and the idols to be broken, proceeded in pursuit of Depal Hurry, who was surprised by the King, and most of his army were taken prisoners, while he himself effected his escape. From thence the King marched against one Ram Ray, who, gaining intelligence of his approach, sent large presents of gold and elephants, excusing himself, on account of his age,

* 135lb.

from personally attending upon Musaood. The King received his presents and excuse, and refrained from farther molestation; then, leaving a trusty chief in Sonput, he took possession of all the countries in his rear, intending to return to Ghizny. When he reached Lahore, he left his son Modood there, conferring on him the government of that province, and the drums and ensigns of state; leaving with him Ayaz Khass, his favourite counsellor and minister.

A. H. 428. A. D. 1037. In the year 428, Musaood again marched to Bulkh, to check the continued encroachments of the Toorkmans, who, hearing of the King's advance, left the country. The inhabitants of Bulkh addressed Musaood, and acquainted him that Toghrul Beg Suljooky, after his departure, had made frequent incursions into his territories, and crossing the river, had laid violent hands on the lives and property of his subjects, the King determined to attack Toghrul Beg in the ensuing winter, and in the beginning of the spring to make war on the other hordes of Suljooks in Khorassan. The omrahs of his court, with one accord, advised him to march first against the Suljooks under Jakur Beg, who during the last two years had gained several advantages over the troops of Khorassan, and were daily acquiring new strength. Musaood at that time also received a copy of verses from one of the nobles of that province. "The Suljooks," said the poet, "who were once but ants, have now become "little adders; and if they are not soon destroyed, "they may in a short time become dragons."

But the star of the King's fortune had now reached its zenith, and he would by no means listen to the advice of his officers. In hopes to conquer the country lying before him, he threw a bridge over the Jyhoon, and crossing his army without opposition, took possession of the whole province of Mawur-ool-Nehr. During the winter so much snow fell, that it was with the utmost difficulty he marched his troops back to Ghizny. In the mean time, Jakur Beg Suljooky moved from Suruksh against Bulkh, from whence Khwaja Ahmud, the vizier, wrote to the King begging that, as he had not a sufficient force to oppose the enemy, the King would take steps to reinforce him. Musaood accordingly countermarched his army towards Bulkh.

Toghrul Beg Suljooky, taking advantage of this circumstance, marched rapidly to Ghizny, plundered the King's stables, and even sacked part of the capital before he was repulsed. When Musaood reached the confines of Bulkh, Jakur Beg Suljooky retreated towards Murv. The King, in conjunction with his son Modood, went in pursuit to Koorkan, when several persons came to camp, complaining of the ravages of Ally Koondoozy. This Ally was little better than a common robber, though a man of considerable talent and cunning. Having refused to account for his conduct, and continuing his depredations, the King ordered a detachment to attack him, and he was driven by the King's forces within the walls of a fort in the neighbourhood, where, with his whole family, he was taken and subsequently hanged.

The Toorkmans*, hearing of the advance of the King towards Murv, sent an ambassador professing obedience, provided the King would bestow on them a tract of country wherein they might settle. He consented to the proposal, and having despatched a messenger to their chief, Mungoo Khan, invited him to come and conclude the treaty. The King, on their promise of future good behaviour, alienated a large territory for their maintenance.

Musaood, after this event, marched towards Herat; but so little faith was kept by the Suljooks, that they attacked the rear of his army, carried off part of his own baggage, and slew a number of his guards. Incensed at this conduct, he sent a detachment in pursuit of them, which took a small party prisoners. He immediately ordered their heads to be struck off and sent to Mungoo Khan, who excused himself, saying, that, for his part, he was glad they had met with their deserts, for he had no knowledge of their proceedings.

Musaood continued his march from Herat to Nyshapoor, and from thence to Toos. At Toos, he was attacked by another horde of Suljooks, which he defeated with great slaughter; but having received intelligence that the inhabitants of Badwird had given up their forts to the Suljooks in that quarter, he marched immediately against them, retook the forts, and cleared that country of the enemy. He now returned to Nyshapoor, where

* Ferishta calls them, indifferently, Suljooks and Toorkmans.

he spent the winter. In the spring of A. H. 430. A D. 1039. the year 430, he returned to Badwird, which had been again invaded in his absence by Toghrul Beg, who fled upon the Sooltan's approach towards Badwird and Tedzen. Musaood returned by the route of Suruksh, whose inhabitants refused to pay the revenue. Some of their chiefs being punished, the rest became more tractable, and after their submission the King continued his march to Dundunaken. At this place the Suljooks, collecting their forces. surrounded the King's army on the 8th Rumzan, A.H. 431, and secured the passes on all sides. Musaood drew up his army in order of battle, to induce the enemy to come to action, which they by no means declined, advancing on all sides with barbarous shouts, and with great impetuosity. This uncommon method of charging discouraged the Ghiznevide troops; and, whether through fear or perfidy, several generals, in the commencement of the battle, rode off with their whole squadrons, and joined the enemy.

Rumzan 8. A. H. 431. May 24. A.D. 1040.

The King, undismayed even by the defection of his officers, gallantly rode his horse to the spot where he perceived the conflict most bloody, performing prodigies of valour, unequalled perhaps by any sovereign; but his efforts were vain; for when he looked round he beheld nearly the whole of his army, excepting the body which he commanded in person, in full flight. The King thus deserted, and seeing no hope from the efforts of his single arm, turned his steed, and trampling down the enemy,

opened a road for himself with his own sword. When he reached Murv, he met with a few of the fugitives, who now began to collect from all quarters. He took from thence the way of Ghoor, and proceeded to Ghizny, where having seized the generals who had so shamefully deserted him, he ordered Ally Dabye, Boghtudy, and Ameer Hajib Samany, to be conveyed to Hindoostan, and confined in hill forts for life. Musaood, now finding himself unable to withstand the power of the Suljook Toorkmans, resolved to withdraw to India, till he was able to collect forces sufficient to make another effort to retrieve his affairs. With this determination, he left his son Modood, and his Vizier Khwaja Ahmud Bin Mahomed, the son of Aluptugeen Hajib, to defend Bulkh, and ordered his other son, the Prince Mādood, who had come from Lahore with 2000 horse, to secure Moultan. Meanwhile the Prince Yezeedyar, another of his sons, was sent with a detachment to keep in check the mountain Afghans near Ghizny, who were in arms. Having collected all his wealth from the different strong holds of Ghizny, and loading camels with it, he marched to Lahore. At this time he sent for his brother Mahomed, who had been previously dethroned and blinded, as we have before mentioned.

When Musaood reached the caravansera of Muriala on the Sind, (but according to others on the Jheelum, also called the Behut,) the household troops, who had entered into a conspiracy with the camel-keepers, began to divide the treasure among themselves. The troops fearing the

King's resentment, and not choosing to refund the plunder, hastened in a mob to the blind Prince Mahomed, who had been before on the throne, and exalting him upon their shoulders, proclaimed him King. Musaood during this time was collecting the only troops on whom he could rely to suppress the mutiny; but no sooner was it known that his brother was proclaimed, than he found himself entirely deserted, and he became prisoner in the caravansera. The mob pressing round him, he was constrained to give himself up into their hands, and was carried before the new King, Mahomed, who told him he had no design to take his life, and desired him to select some fort, whither he might retire with his family into confinement. Musaood, in this extremity, chose the fort of Kurry, but was left without the means of paying his few menial attendants. This obliged him to send a person to his brother to request some money.

Mahomed accordingly ordered the pitiful sum of 500 deenars to be sent him, upon which Musaood, exclaimed: "Oh, wonderful turn "of fortune! Ah, cruel reverse of fate! Yester- "day, I was a mighty Prince, 3000 camels "bending under my wealth *; to-day I am

* If this be taken literally, and that 3000 camels carried his wealth, which must include all his camp equipage, as well as his treasure, the amount would not exceed belief. 3000 camels, if all laden with silver, even, would not carry two and a half millions of specie, and we can hardly allow a greater portion than one in ten of his carriage-cattle for the conveyance of gold and silver.

"forced to beg, and am condemned to receive but "the mere mockery of my wants." With that he borrowed 1000 deenars from his servants, and bestowed them as a present upon his brothers' messenger who had brought the 500 deenars, which he desired he might again carry back to his master.

On the accession of Mahomed he advanced his son, the Prince Ahmud, to the government, reserving for himself only the name. The mind of Ahmud was by many supposed to be strongly tainted with insanity. Shortly after his accession, in the year 433, he, in conjunction with his cousin Sooliman, the son of Ameer Yoosoof Soobooktugeen, and the son of Ally Cheshawundy, went to the fort of Kurry and assassinated Musaood with his own hand, while some affirm that he caused him to be buried alive in a well. It has been by others asserted that Musaood was murdered by the orders of Mahomed himself. God only knows the truth. The reign of Musaood, according to the Towareekh-Goozeeda, lasted nine years and nine months, and according to other histories, twelve years. He was a prince of uncommon personal strength and courage, affable, and of easy access; generous to prodigality, particularly to learned men, of whose company he was so extremely fond, that many were induced to come from all parts to his court. Among the most celebrated we must reckon Anvury Khan Khwaruzmy, a great philosopher and astronomer, who wrote an excellent treatise upon astronomy, called Musaoody; in reward for which he was pre-

A. H. 433.
A. D. 1042.

sented with an elephant's load of silver.* Aboo Mahomed Nasahy was a man of eminent learning in this age. He wrote a book entitled also Musaoody, in support of the doctrine of Aboo Huneef, which he presented to the King. The author of the Rozut-oos-suffa tells us, that so extensive was the King's charity, that on one occasion he bestowed a lak of dirms† in alms during the month of Rumzam. In the beginning of his reign he built many handsome mosques, and endowed several colleges and schools, which he caused to be erected in the different cities of his dominions.

* An elephant would not carry more than 35,000 rupees (3500*l.*); and such a sum does not seem too large a remuneration for the author of a set of astronomical tables.

† If we estimate the dirm at 10*d.* the sum would exceed 4144*l.*

SOOLTAN MODOOD-GHIZNEVY.

Accession of Modood — takes revenge on the assassins of his father. — The Prince Mādood in India refuses to acknowledge his brother king. — Modood marches to Lahore — his brother dies suddenly. — Suljooks invade Transoxania and take Bulkh. — The Hindoo Rajas retake Tahnesur, Hansy, and Nagrakote, and advance to Lahore. — Siege of Lahore by the Hindoos continues for seven months — is at length abandoned. — The Suljooks defeated in Transoxania by Aluptugeen Hajib. — Toghrul Beg Suljooky also defeated at Boost. — Insurrections in the Ghizny empire. — Dissensions among the chiefs of Modood — his death.

WHEN the news of the murder of Musaood reached the ears of Mahomed the Blind, he wept bitterly, and severely reproached the assassins. At the same time he wrote to the Prince Modood, then at Bulkh, that such and such people had killed his father, calling God to witness that his hands were clear of the wicked deed. To this Modood replied, sarcastically, "May God lengthen the days "of so good and merciful a king, and grant that "his mad son, Ahmud, may gain glory in the "practice of regicide, till his reward be obtained "from our hands!" Modood proposed marching immediately to revenge the death of his father, but was persuaded by his council to go first to Ghizny, where the citizens, upon his approach, thronged out to meet him, and expressed their joy in acclamations and congratulations.

A. H. 433. A. D. 1042. In the year 433, he marched from Ghizny; while Mahomed the Blind, appointing his younger son, the Prince Namy, governor of Pishawur and Moultan, marched in person to the banks of the Indus, to oppose Modood. The two armies met at Duntoor *; an action ensued between the uncle and nephew: victory declared in favour of Modood, while Mahomed with his sons, and the son of Ameer Ally Cheshawundy, Noshtugeen Bulkhy, and Sooliman, the son of Ameer Yoosoof, were taken prisoners. They were all put to death, except the Prince Abdool Ruheem, the son of the late King Mahomed. Modood pardoned him, because on one occasion, during the time his father Musaood was prisoner, when Abdool Ruheem went with his brother Abdool Ruhman to visit him, the latter insultingly threw off Musaood's royal cap: Ruheem instantly took it up, and replaced it on the King's head with much respect, reproving his brother for his ungenerous conduct.

Modood having revenged his father's death, built a town on the spot on which he had obtained the victory, and called it Futtehabad. He carried the remains of the late Musaood and his family to be interred at Ghizny; whither he returned, and appointed Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, his vizier. But soon after, removing him from the office, he conferred the dignity on Khwaja Tahir, and deputed the late Vizier Ahmud, with a force to Moultan, against the Prince Namy, the son of his uncle Mahomed, who was attacked and slain. The King

* The position is not determined.

had now no rival of whom he was apprehensive but his own brother Mādood, who was then in possession of Lahore and its dependencies. This brother, on the murder of his father, marched from Moultan, and, at the instance of his minister Ayaz Khass, occupied all the country east of the Indus, as far as Hansy and Tahnesur.

Modood, finding that his brother refused to pay him allegiance, ordered an army against him, and Mādood, apprised of this circumstance, marched from Hansy, where he then resided, with his whole force, to oppose the troops of Modood, whom he met, before they reached Lahore, on the 6th Zilhuj, A. H. 433. The army of Modood was so numerous, that Mādood's forces were on the point of flying, when several of the chiefs deserting their colours, enrolled themselves under the banners of the latter. But fortune or treachery here befriended Modood. On the morning of the festival of Koorban *, Mādood was found dead in his bed, without any previous complaint or apparent cause; and as, on the following day his vizier, Khwäja Ayaz, was also found dead, it is supposed they were poisoned. Mādood's army now marched under the banners of Modood, so that the southern countries also submitted quietly. Nor was Modood less fortunate in the north. The province of Mawur-ool-Nehr, which had for some time asserted its independence, submitted to his authority. But the Suljooks (notwithstanding the King had espoused a daughter

Zilhuj 6. A. H. 433. August 4. A. D. 1041.

* This festival is kept in commemoration of the intended sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

of Jakur Beg) began to make fresh incursions into his terrritories.

A. H. 435. A. D. 1043. In the year 435, the Raja of Dehly, in conjunction with other rajas, retook Hansy, Tahnesur, and their dependencies, from the governors to whom Modood had entrusted them. The Hindoos from thence marched towards the fort of Nagrakote, which they besieged for four months; and the garrison being distressed for provisions, and no succours coming from Lahore, was under the necessity of capitulating. The Hindoos, according to their practice, erected new idols, and recommenced the rites of idolatry. We are told, that on this occasion the Raja of Dehly, (aware, no doubt, of the embarrassed circumstances of the empire of Ghizny,) pretended to have seen a vision, in which the great idol of Nagrakote had appeared, and told him that, having now revenged himself upon Ghizny, he would meet him at Nagrakote in his former temple. This story being propagated by the Bramins, who, probably, were in the secret, it gained credence among the superstitious, by which means the Raja was joined by zealots from all parts, and soon saw himself at the head of a numerous host. With this army, as we have already mentioned, he besieged Nagrakote, and when the place surrendered, he took care to have an idol of the same shape and size with the former (which he had caused to be made at Dehly) introduced in the night, into a garden in the centre of the place. This image being discovered in the morning, great rejoicing occurred

among its deluded votaries, who exclaimed that their god had returned from Ghizny. The Raja and the Brahmins, taking advantage of the credulity of the populace, carried the idol with great pomp into the temple, where it received the adoration and congratulations of the people. The story raised the fame of the shrine to such a degree, that thousands came daily to worship from all parts of Hindoostan, as also to consult the oracle upon all important occasions; and at this particular time, the offerings of gold, and silver, and jewels, brought and sent by the different princes from far and near, is supposed to have nearly equalled the wealth Mahmood carried away. The method of consultation was this: — The person who came to enquire into futurity slept on the floor of the temple before the idol, after drinking a dose which the Bramins prescribed to create dreams, from which they predicted the fortune of the enquirers in the morning, according to their own fancy.

The success of the Raja of Dehly gave such confidence to the Indian chiefs of Punjab (the province through which the five branches of the Indus flow), and other places, that though before this time, like foxes, they durst hardly creep from their holes, for fear of the Mussulman arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lions, and openly set their masters at defiance. Three of those Rajas, with 10,000 horse and an innumerable army of foot, advanced and invested Lahore. The Mahomedans, in defence of their laws, their families, and their effects, exerted themselves to the utmost; and, during the period of seven months, defended

the town, street by street, for the walls being bad, were soon laid in ruins. Finding, however, that, in the end, they must be overpowered, unless speedy succours arrived, they bound themselves by oath to devote their lives to victory or martyrdom; and making a sally, presented themselves in order of battle before the enemy's camp. The Hindoos, either struck by their unexpected appearance, or intimidated by their resolution, betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter.

In the year preceding (A. H. 434), the King sent Aluptugeen Hajib with an army to Tokharistan, against the ever-restless Suljooky. When he reached that place, he heard that Jakur Beg, the son of Dāood, had advanced to Armun*; but as the two armies drew up in order of battle, the chief of the Suljooks (a young man without experience) marshalled his troops with such want of skill, that they charged before all the horse had properly formed. This circumstance occasioned confusion, so that being firmly received they were broken, and totally routed with heavy loss. Aluptugeen, having returned from the pursuit, marched to recover Bulkh, which the Suljooks had taken. Not long after, the Suljooks returning with a powerful force, appeared before the same place. Bulkh not being taken, and Aluptugeen, finding himself too weak to engage the enemy in the field, wrote to Modood for succour. But no reinforcements arriving, and the general's dif-

* This place does not appear in any maps.

ficulties daily increasing, he determined to abandon his attempt on Bulkh; and fell back by the route of Kabul on Ghizny, with a small portion of his army. The popular outcry, however, was so strong against this unfortunate officer, that Modood, in order to silence the clamour, suffered him to be put to death. About this time, the Toorkmans of Toghrul Beg made an incursion into the Ghiznevide territories by the way of Boost, against whom Modood sent an army, which gave them a signl defeat.

A. H. 436. A. D. 1044. In the year 436 Khwaja Tahir, the vizier, died, and Khwaja Abool Futteh Abdool Ruzak, the son of Ahmud, and grandson of Hussun Mymundy, was raised to that office. In the same year, Toghrul Beg * was sent with a force towards Boost; from whence having proceeded to Seestan, he brought the brother of Abool Fuzl Oozbuky, entitled Aboo Munsoor, who had rebelled against the King, prisoner to Ghizny. The Suljooks, in the following year, having collected their forces, directed their march towards Ghizny, and plundered the palaces of Boost and Rubat Ameer. Toghrul Beg was ordered against them. He defeated them with great slaughter, and pursued them out of the country. After this victory, Toghrul Beg marched immediately against the Toorkmans of Kandahar, called Kuzil-bash †, owing to their wearing red caps, and

* This chief must not be confounded with the famous Toghrul Beg Suljooky.

† Kuzil-bash, literally red heads: the appellation has descended to the Toorks of eastern Persia to this day.

defeating them also, took many prisoners, whom he brought to Ghizny.

A. H. 438. A. D. 1046. In the 438th year, Toghrul Beg was again ordered to Boost, with a numerous army; but when he arrived at Tukeabad, he began to entertain treasonable designs against his sovereign. News of his revolt reaching Modood, he sent some persons to endeavour to reclaim him, with a promise of pardon. To this overture Toghrul Beg replied, that the reason of this step was to secure himself; that he had information of a plot formed against his life, by those sycophants whose only business was to stand by the throne, and to amuse the ears of the King with lies and flattery, and that being once driven into rebellion, he had now gone too far to retreat. Though the King's messengers produced no effect on Toghrul, they found most of the chiefs with him still loyal, and they induced others to abandon him, who had joined rather from the desire of novelty than from any real cause of disaffection. The messengers now returned, and having told the King how matters stood, he ordered Ally, the son of Rubeea, one of his generals, with 20,000 horse, to join the insurgents, and to promote the dissensions already begun in their camp. Toghrul Beg, accordingly, was, soon after, deserted by his army, and betook himself to flight with a few adherents.

Ameer Bastugeen Hajib, another chief, was, in the same year, sent to Ghoor, to the assistance of the son of Yehya Ghoory, who joined him with his force, and they both marched against Aboo

Ally, ruler of Ghoor, and drove him into a fort *, wherein he was besieged and taken prisoner. This place was reckoned so strong, that no one had attempted its reduction for 700 years. When Ameer Bastugeen Hajib found himself master of the fort, he treacherously laid hands on the son of Yehya Ghoory, whom he came to support, and carried him in chains, with Aboo Ally, to Ghizny, where the King ordered both to be beheaded. Ameer Bastugeen Hajib was sent soon after against Byram Daniel, a chief of the Suljooks. He met the enemy in the districts of Boost, where he engaged and defeated them. In the year 439 he was sent against Khoozdar, the ruler of which refused to pay the usual tribute; but he obliged him to comply with the King's demands, and returned with his army to Ghizny.

A. H. 439.
A. D. 1047.

In the following year, Modood, on one and the same day, conferred the royal dress, drums, and colours, on his two eldest sons. These were Mahmood, whom he sent to Lahore, and Munsoor, whom he sent to the province of Burkistwar. At the same time, Aboo Ally Kotwal of Ghizny was deputed to command the army in India, and to maintain the conquests in that quarter. Aboo Ally first marched to Pishawur, and took the fort of Myhtilla, which had rebelled against the King's authority, from thence he sent a letter to Bheejy Ray, a general of the Hindoos, who had done much service in the time of Mahmood, inviting

* The name is not mentioned in any of my MSS.

him to come to the court of Ghizny, whence he had fled on account of some political dissensions, and had taken up his abode in the mountains of Kashmeer.

While Aboo Ally was employed in settling the countries on the Indus, some malicious chiefs in his camp forwarded complaints against him to the King, who, having sent for him to Ghizny, imprisoned and made him over in charge to Meeruk, the son of Hoossein. This chief, moved by former enmity, as well as by a design to extort money, put him to the rack, on which he died. Fearing lest the King should enquire for the prisoner, and order him to be produced, he endeavoured to divert Modood's mind till he should be able to frame an excuse for the death of Aboo Ally. He prevailed with the Sooltan, in the first place, to undertake an expedition against Khorassan, by the way of Kabul. Modood proceeded by the route of Shujawund and Logur *, and reached the fort of Sealkote †, where considerable treasure had been deposited. Here he was seized with a violent bowel complaint, and was obliged to return in a litter to Ghizny, while his vizier, Abdool Ruzak, with the army, having marched into Seestan, opposed the Suljooks, and penetrated into that country.

On the King's arrival at Ghizny, he ordered Meeruk Hoossein to bring his prisoner, Aboo Ally,

* This place appears, in Mr. Elphinstone's map, 40 miles north of Ghizny, and about 20 south of Kabul.

† This is not the Sealkote in India Proper.

in order that he might be released; but Meeruk contrived excuses, and before the end of a week, the King died, on the 24th Rujub, in the year 441, having reigned upwards of nine years. Previously to his death, he had prevailed on the provinces of Bamyan and Mawur-ool-Nehr to unite all their resources in order to act against the Suljooks; but as the stars of this race were on the rise, they met with no obstacle to their final and entire success.

Rujub 24. A. H. 441. Dec. 24. A. D. 1049.

SOOLTAN MUSAOOD II. BIN-MODOOD GHIZNEVY.

Ally Bin Rubeea raises Musaood, the infant son of Modood, to the throne. — Aluptugeen espouses the cause of Abool Hussun Ally, a son of Musaood the First. — The infant, Musaood, is deposed.

After the death of Modood, Ally Bin Rubeea, Khadim, formed a design to usurp the throne; but concealing his intentions in the first instance, he raised Musaood, the son of Modood (a child of four years old), to the musnud. Aluptugeen Hajib, one of the principal officers of Sooltan Mahmood's court, not having been made acquainted with the measure, deemed himself insulted, and drew off with that half of the army which was in his interest. The troops, thus divided, came to action; in which Ally Bin Rubeea being worsted, the party of Aluptugeen Hajib espoused the cause of Abool Hussun Ally, one of the sons of the Emperor Musaood, who had escaped the resentment of Ally Bin Rubeea, and proclaimed him king, deposing Musaood, after a nominal reign of six days.

SOOLTAN ABOOL HUSSUN ALLY

Ascends the throne, and marries the widow of the late King, Madood, daughter of Jakur Beg Suljooky. — Ally Bin Rubeea flies from the capital, after plundering the treasury, accompanied by the household troops — reduces a part of the country of the Afghans for himself. — Abool Rusheed, a son of Sooltan Mahmood, raises an army, sets up his pretensions to the throne, and advances to Ghizny — is feebly opposed by Sooltan Abool Hussun Ally, who is defeated and taken prisoner.

Shaban 1. A. H. 441. Dec. 26. A. D. 1049.

On Friday, the 1st of Shaban, in the year 441, Sooltan Abool Hussun Ally ascended the throne of Ghizny, and espoused the widow of his brother Modood, daughter of Jakur-Beg Suljooky. In the mean time Ally Bin Rubeea in conjunction with Meeruk Hoosein, broke open the treasury, and plundering from thence as much gold and jewels as they could conveniently carry, fled with a band of the household troops, and some of the chiefs whom they had brought over to their interest, towards Pishawur and Punjab, on the Indian frontier. At Pishawur, being joined by the natives, they raised a great army, and having reduced Mooltan and Sind, subdued, by force of arms, the Afghans who had declared their independence in that country. This nation had taken advantage of the public disturbances, to plunder those pro-

vinces which Ally Rubeea held independently of the crown, till the accession of Sooltan Abool Rusheed.

A. H. 443. A. D. 1051. In the year 443 the King sent for his brother Murdan Shah and Yeyeed-yar from the fort of Bulameea *, where they had been imprisoned, restored them to liberty, and treated them with affection and kindness. At this time, however, Abool Rusheed, a son of the Emperor Mahmood, formed a party in his own favour. The King opened the treasury, and increased the strength of his army, but his power daily declined. Abool Rusheed advanced to Ghizny, and having gained a complete victory, ascended the throne in the latter end of the same year. Sooltan Abool Hussun Ally reigned little more than two years.

* There is a town of this name on the north bank of the Khoorum, about 50 miles due east of Ghizny.

SOOLTAN ABOOL RUSHEED GHIZNEVY.

Causes which led to the pretensions set forth by Sooltan Abool Rusheed. — Ally Bin Rubeea, who had occupied all the territory east of Kabul, is induced to acknowledge the supremacy of the King of Ghizny. — Nagrakote retaken from the Hindoos by assault. — Toghrul, an officer of the government, who had espoused the daughter of Modood, is sent with an army to Seestan — aspires to the throne — besieges Ghizny. — The King compelled to surrender to the rebel, by whom he is put to death. — Toghrul causes the daughter of Musaood the First to marry him — she is induced by Noshtugeen Hajib to procure his assassination.

Sooltan Abool Rusheed, according to the most authentic accounts, was a son of the Emperor Mahmood, and by the orders of Modood was imprisoned in a castle situated between Boost and Isfira. The events which led to his accession are as follow: Abdool Ruzak, Bin Ahmud, Bin Hussun Mymundy, was the minister of Sooltan Modood, and had actually collected a force to quell an insurrection in Seestan, when hearing of the death of his master, he put off the object of his expedition, and halted at Tuckeeabad with his army. Here, in conjunction with Khwaja Abool Fuzl, Rusheed the son of Altoon Tash, and Noshtugeen Hajib Joorjy, in the latter end of the year 443, Abdool Ruzak released the Prince Abool Rusheed, and placed him on the throne (according to his own statement), by the express command of the late Sooltan Modood.

Abool Hussun Ally, then actually in possession, made no resistance, but fled, and being seized by some of the zemindars of the country, was brought prisoner before Abool Rusheed, and confined in the fort of Didiroo.* The King now prevailed on Ally Bin Rubeea, who had usurped the Ghiznevide conquests in India, to return to his allegiance, and to come to Ghizny. Noshtugeen Hajib being appointed ruler over the provinces east of the Indus, and having received the rank of an Ameer, proceeded with an army to Lahore.

Here having heard that Nagrakote had fallen into the hands of the Hindoos, he proceeded, and laid siege to that place, and on the 6th day scaling the walls, took it by assault. Toghrul Hajib, also, who had been raised to the rank of a noble by Modood, and who married his daughter, was now sent to reduce Seestan, at this time in a state of revolt, and which he soon brought under subjection. Impelled by a spirit of ambition, he conceived hopes of gaining the crown; and raising a great army, marched towards Ghizny. Sooltan Abool Rusheed, almost destitute of troops, was compelled to remain shut up within the town, which shortly fell into the hands of Toghrul, where the King with nine of the blood-royal were inhumanly put to death by the usurper, who forcibly espoused a princess of the house of Ghizny (the daughter of the late Sooltan Musaood), previously to ascending the throne. Toghrul did not long enjoy the fruits of his wickedness. He

* This place is not in any of the maps I have seen.

wrote to Ameer Noshtugeen Hajib, endeavouring to prevail on that chief to acknowledge him, but he was answered with the contempt he deserved. Not content with giving him a refusal, Noshtugeen communicated privately with the daughter of Musaood, whom the tyrant had compelled to marry him, as well as with all the omras, whom he knew retained their attachment to the imperial family, urging them to revenge the death of their sovereign, so that a conspiracy was forthwith formed, and put in execution on new-year's day*; when, as Toghrul was stepping up to the throne to give public audience, he was assassinated. Thus the usurper at the end of 40 days met his well merited fate.

After this important event, Noshtugeen arrived at Ghizny with his army, and calling a council of state, enquired whether any yet remained of the royal race of Subooktugeen. Being informed that the Princes Furokhzad, Ibrahim, and Shoojaa were still alive, but imprisoned in a fort, he caused them to be brought to Ghizny, and resolved that fortune should decide by lŏt who should reign. She favoured Furokhzad, who was accordingly raised to the throne.

The author of the Tubkat Nasiry states that Toghrul being one day asked by one of his associates, what induced him to think of aspiring to the empire, replied, that when the Emperor Abool Rusheed despatched him to take the go-

* The nǫwrooz is the day of the vernal equinox, on which the Persian year commences.

vernment of Seestan, he perceived that his hand trembled; from which circumstance he concluded that he was destitute of that resolution requisite to retain a kingdom. The reign of Sooltan Abool Rusheed lasted one year.

SOOLTAN FUROKHZAD GHIZNEVY.

Noshtugeen assists in placing Furokhzad on the throne, and is created minister. — Jakur Beg Suljooky advances against Ghizny — is opposed and defeated by Noshtugeen. — The King, attended by his minister, proceeds to Khorassan, and recovers it from the Suljooks. — Mutual exchange of prisoners between the Suljooks and Ghiznevides. — Death of Furokhzad.

When Furokhzad, the son of Musaood, placed the crown upon his head, he made over the administration of his government to Noshtugeen Hajib. Jakur Beg Daood, chief of the Suljooks, hearing of the late commotions in the empire, seized the opportunity to invade Ghizny, and advanced with a numerous army, while Noshtugeen Hajib, collecting his forces, went forth to oppose him. Both armies having engaged, the battle was obstinate and bloody, and lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, when the victory still remained undecided; for though thousands fell on both sides, the troops continued to fight regardless of danger. Success at length declared in favour of Noshtugeen Hajib, while his enemies having taken to flight, left their camp-equipage and baggage to the conquerors, who returned victorious to Ghizny. This battle served to establish Furokhzad so firmly on his seat, that he resolved to recover Khorassan from the Suljooks. The latter were commanded by Kulbarik, one of their prin-

cipal leaders, who with a numerous army was defeated with great slaughter. Kulbarik and several other persons of note were taken prisoners. Intelligence of this disaster being conveyed to Jakur Beg Suljooky, he directed an army to march under the command of his son Alp Arslan. Alp Arslan advancing, opposed the King of Ghizny with undaunted resolution, and by defeating him retrieved the character of the Suljooks, who took many of the Ghizny officers prisoners in the pursuit. Furokhzad, having reached his capital, called Kulbarik and all the Suljook prisoners into his presence, and bestowing on each a dress, gave them their liberty. The Suljooky, on his return home, represented in so strong a light the humanity of the King, that Jakur Beg, rather than be outdone in generosity, caused the prisoners of Ghizny to be also released.

Sooltan Furokhzad, who, according to the Rozut-oos-Suffa, was the son of Musaood (though Ahmud-oolla Moostowfy calls him the son of Abool Rusheed), reigned six years. In the year 450 he became afflicted with dysentery, and died. The year before his death, some of his slaves made an attempt on his life while in the bath; but Furokhzad, wresting a sword out of the hand of one of them, killed several, and defended himself against the rest, till his guards, hearing the noise, came to his rescue, and put the slaves to death. His first vizier was Hussun, the son of Mehram, and, in the latter part of his reign, Aboo Bukr Saleh.

A. H. 450.
A. D. 1058.

SOOLTAN IBRAHEEM BIN MUSAOOD I. GHIZNEVY.

Furokhzad is succeeded by his brother Ibraheem — confirms to the Suljooks all the territory in their possession which they had from time to time wrested from the house of Ghizny. — The Prince Musaood, the King's son, is married to the daughter of Mullik Shah Suljooky. — Ibraheem invades India — takes Ajoodhun, Roodpal, and Dera. — His death and character.

FUROKHZAD was succeeded by his brother Ibraheem. He was remarkable for morality and devotion, having in his youth subdued his sensual appetites. He caused the fast of Rumzan to be continued during the months of Rujub and Shaban, and kept the entire three months holy with strict punctuality. This observance of religious forms did not prevent his paying due attention to his government and to the administration of justice, as well as giving large sums in charity to the poor. It is related in the Jama-ool-Hikayat that he was in the habit of hearing lectures on religion and morality from Imam Yoosoof Shujawundy, who on such occasions used to take the liberty of reproving his master, but never received any check from his sovereign on that account. This Prince excelled in the art of fine writing; and in the libraries of Mecca and Medina there are two copies of the Koran, written in his own hand, sent as presents to the Caliph. In the first year of his reign he concluded a treaty of peace with the Suljooks,

ceding to them all the countries they had conquered, on condition that they would make no further encroachments on his dominions. At the same time, his son Musaood espoused the daughter of Mullik Shah Suljooky, and a channel of friendship and intercourse was opened between the two nations.

We are told that before this peace was concluded, Mullik Shah Suljooky had evinced an intention to invade Ghizny, which greatly intimidated Ibraheem, who being then in no condition to oppose him, adopted the following scheme. He wrote letters to the principal chiefs of Mullik Shah's army, and despatched them by a messenger who was particularly instructed how to proceed. The purport of these letters was to importune the chiefs to whom they were directed to hasten the King's march to Ghizny, lest their plans should be prematurely discovered, and that they might depend upon his fulfilling his engagements to their satisfaction.

The messenger took an opportunity one day, when Mullik Shah was hunting on the road to Ghizny, to come running towards him, but on discovering the King stole slowly away, which creating suspicion, he was pursued by some horsemen, and brought back. On being searched, the packet was found on him, though he had previously suffered himself to be severely bastinadoed, without confessing that he had any papers. The King read the letters, but the power of the supposed conspirators was such, that he felt there was great danger in accusing them. The circumstance, how-

ever, had the effect of exciting such suspicion in his mind that he, from that time, was desirous of peace, and abandoned his expedition. Ibraheem, thus freed from apprehensions of the Suljooks, sent an army to India, and conquered many places in that country, which before had not been visited by the Mussulman arms.

A. H. 472. A. D. 1079. In the year 472, he marched in person to that quarter, extending his conquests to the fort of Ajoodhun, called now Puttun of Sheikh Fureed Shukr Gunj. This place being taken, he returned to another fort, called Roodpal *, situated on the summit of a steep hill. A river embraced it on three sides, and a small peninsula connected it with other hills, entirely covered with an impervious wood, and much infested by venomous serpents. These circumstances did not discourage the King from his attempt, who ordered some thousand pioneers to clear the wood, which they effected in spite of opposition. The rock on which the fort stood being soft, the miners carried their galleries in the course of time under the walls, which were brought down in ruins, and the garrison surrendered. The King marched from thence to another town in the neighbourhood, called Dera †, the inhabitants of which came originally from Khorassan; and were banished thither with their families by Afrasiab, for frequent rebellions. Here they had formed themselves into a small independent state; and being

* The situation of this place has not been fixed.

† Dera seems a common name in the vicinity of Mooltan for a town.

cut off from intercourse with their neighbours, by a belt of mountains nearly impassable, had preserved their ancient customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. The King, having with infinite labour cleared a road for his army over the mountains, advanced towards Dera, which was well fortified. This place was remarkable for a fine lake of water about one parasang and a half in circumference; the waters of which did not apparently diminish, either from the heat of the weather, or from being used by the army. At this place the King was overtaken by the rainy season; and his army, though greatly distressed, was compelled to remain before it for three months. But as soon as the rains abated, he summoned the town to surrender and acknowledge the faith.

Sooltan Ibraheem's proposal being rejected, he renewed the siege, which continued some weeks, with great slaughter on both sides. The town, at length, was taken by assault, and the Mahomedans found in it much wealth, and 100,000 persons, whom they carried in bonds to Ghizny. Some time after, the King accidentally saw one of those unhappy men carrying a heavy stone with great difficulty and labour, to a palace which he was then building. This exciting his pity, he commanded the prisoner to throw it down and leave it there, at the same giving him his liberty. This stone happened to be on the public road, and proved troublesome to passengers, but as the King's rigid enforcement of his commands was universally known, no one attempted to touch it. A courtier

one day having stumbled with his horse over this stone, took occasion to mention it to the King, insinuating, that he thought it would be advisable to have it removed. To which the King replied, "I commanded it to be thrown down and left "there; and there it must remain as a monument "of the calamities of war, and to commemorate "my sense of its evils. It is better for a king "to be pertinacious in the support even of an "inadvertent command, than that he should depart "from his royal word." The stone accordingly remained where it was; and was shown as a curiosity in the reign of Sooltan Beiram several years afterwards.

Ibraheem had 36 sons and 40 daughters by a variety of women: the latter of whom he gave in marriage to learned and religious men. The death of this monarch, according to some authors, took place in the year 481, which would limit his reign to 31 years; others fix it in the year 492, which extends it to 42 years. In the early part of his reign the vizarut was conferred successively on Aboo Soheil Khoojundy, and Khwaja Musaood Ruzehy; and in the latter part of his reign it was exercised by Abdool Humeed Ahmud, Bin Abdool Sumud, who became the subject of a poem from the pen of Abool Furreh, who flourished in his time. This famous author was a native of Seestan, according to some, but according to others, of Ghizny.

A. H. 492.
A. D. 1098.

SOOLTAN MUSAOOD III. BIN IBRAHEEM GHIZNEVY

Succeeds his father — marries the daughter of Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky — deputes his general, Hajib Toghantugeen, to make conquests in India. — Death of Sooltan Musaood the Third.

MUSAOOD, the son of Ibraheem, ascended the throne on the demise of his father. He was endowed with a benevolent and generous disposition, nor was he less celebrated for his justice than for his policy. He revised the ancient laws and regulations of the state, he abrogated such as he thought objectionable, and substituted others founded on better principles. He espoused the Princess Mehd-Irak, sister of Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky.

In his reign Hajib Toghantugeen, an officer of his government, proceeded in command of an army towards Hindoostan; and being appointed governor of Lahore, crossed the Ganges, and carried his conquests farther than any Mussulman had hitherto done, except the Emperor Mahmood. Like him he plundered many rich cities and temples of their wealth, and returned in triumph to Lahore, which now became in some measure the capital of the empire, for the Suljooks having deprived the house of Ghizny of most of its territory both in Eeran and Tooran, the royal family went to reside in India."

After Musaood had reigned 16 years without domestic troubles or foreign wars, he
A. H. 508. A. D. 1118. died in the latter end of the year 508. In the Towareekh Goozeeda it is stated that his son, Kumal-ood-Dowla Sheernijad ascended the throne. He only reigned, however, one year, when he was assassinated by his brother Arslan, who succeeded him, while other historians make no mention of Kumal-ood-Dowla at all.

SOOLTAN ARSLAN GHIZNEVY,

On his accession, seizes all his brothers, with the exception of Beiram, who flies to Khorassan, and finds protection with Mahomed, the brother of Mullik Shah Suljooky. — Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky demands the release of the princes imprisoned by Arslan, which he refuses. — War ensues. — He sends his mother, the sister of Sooltan Sunjur, to treat for peace; but she urges the war, and supports the pretension of her son Beiram. — Battle between Sooltan Sunjur and Arslan at Ghizny — the latter is defeated, and flies to Hindoostan — returns to Ghizny, and is again defeated — seeks protection with the Afghans — is seized by his own troops, and delivered into the hands of his brother Beiram — by whom he is put to death.

Arslan, the son of Sooltan Musaood Bin Ibraheem, having become King of Ghizny, seized and confined all his brothers excepting one, who avoided the same fate by flight. The Prince Beiram, who was so fortunate as to escape, found protection with Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky, who on the part of his brother Mahomed, the son of Mullik Shah Suljooky, then ruled the province of Khorassan. Sooltan Sunjur, the maternal uncle of Arslan, having demanded the release of the other brothers (which was not complied with), espoused the cause of the princes, and made the refusal of Arslan to liberate them a plea for invading the kingdom of Ghizny.

Arslan, hearing of the intended invasion, wrote letters of complaint to Sooltan Mahomed, the elder

brother of Sooltan Sunjur, to induce him to counteract the movement, and that monarch pretended to be disposed to mediate a peace; but Sooltan Sunjur continuing his march, Arslan felt convinced that he could depend on nothing but his sword. His mother Mehid Irak, offended with him for his treatment of her other children, with well-dissembled affection, prevailed on him to send her to negotiate a peace, with a sum of 200,000 deenars to Sooltan Sunjur, for the expense of his expedition. Having arrived in the camp, she, according to her design, excited Beiram her son, and her brother Sunjur, to prosecute the war with vigour, so that instead of halting, Sooltan Sunjur continued his march with 30,000 horse, and 50,000 foot, from Boost in Khorassan to within one fursung of Ghizny, where the army of Arslan was drawn up to receive him. Sunjur proceeded at once to the attack; and dividing his horse into squadrons, and placing battalions of spearmen in the intervals, with elephants in the rear, to be ready to advance when required, he moved slowly towards the enemy. Both armies fought desperately, till at length, owing to the great good conduct of Mullik Abool Fuzl Seestany, the Ghiznevide army was defeated, and Arslan, unable to renew the conflict, fled with the remains of his army to Hindoostan.

Sooltan Sunjur, having entered Ghizny in triumph, halted there 40 days, when, giving the kingdom to his nephew the Prince Beiram, he returned to his own country. Arslan no sooner heard of the departure of Sooltan Sunjur, than,

collecting all his troops in the Mahomedan provinces of Hindoostan, he returned to recover his capital, while Beiram, unable to oppose him, shut himself up in the fort of Bamian, till he could be reinforced by his uncle. Sooltan Sunjur again took the field, and expelled Arslan a second time from Ghizny. The latter sought protection among the Afghans; but was so closely pursued, that his army was dispersed, and the few of his officers who remained seized and brought him to Beiram. Arslan, as might be supposed, suffered a violent death, in the 27th year of his age, after a short reign of three years. In the Tubkat Nasiry it is related, that in the reign of Arslan several calamitous phenomena happened; amongst others, mention is made of a thunderbolt, which falling at Ghizny, set fire to, and destroyed most of the buildings of the city.

SOOLTAN BEIRAM BIN MUSAOOD III. GHIZNEVY

Patronises literature. — Mahomed Bhyleem makes conquests in India — aspires at independence — is defeated by the King, and he and his ten sons are killed. — Sooltan Beiram seizes and puts to death his son-in-law, Kootb-ood-Deen Ghoory. — Seif-ood-Deen Soor, the brother of Kootb-ood-Deen, revenges his death — marches to Ghizny, which is evacuated by Beiram. — The King returns to his capital. — The inhabitants of Ghizny betray Seif-ood-Deen into the hands of Beiram, by whom he is put to death with great ignominy. — Alla-ood-Deen Soor marches from Ghoor to avenge his brother's death. — Battle of Ghizny. — Beiram defeated — retires to Lahore — his death.

Sooltan Beiram, the son of Musaood, was blessed with a noble and generous disposition. Having an uncommon thirst for knowledge, he was a great promoter of literature, and proved himself a liberal patron of learned men. Many of these resorted to his court, particularly Sheikh Nizamy, the author of the Mukhzun-asrar, dedicated to that monarch, and Syud Hussun Ghiznevy, both of them poets, and philosophers of great fame. Several works were, by his order, translated from various languages into the Persian tongue; among which was an Indian book, called the Kuleel-oo-Dumna. This work was sent formerly, before the dissolution of the Hindoo empire of India, by the king of that country, accompanied with a chess-board, to Nowsherwan, King of Persia, surnamed the Just,

when it was rendered into the Pihlvy tongue by Boozoorjmehr, his vizier. Boozoorjmehr, after comprehending the game of chess, is reported to have won several games from the ambassador who brought it, and who was famed for his skill in the game of "Nurd *," which it is said was invented on this occasion by Boozoojmehr, the minister of the Persian king. The present of the chess-board was said to be intended as an experiment of the genius of the minister, and to indicate, that in the great game of state, attention and foresight were of more importance than chance; while the book, in its whole tenour, strongly inculcated that wise maxim, that wisdom is always in the end an overmatch for strength. The nurd table, which was returned, signified, that attention and foresight alone cannot always ensure success; but that we must play the game of life, according to the casts of fortune.

The Kuleel-oo-Dumna, translated into Pihlvy from Sanscrit, in the reign of Nowsherwan, was rendered into Arabic, by Ibn-ool-Mukba, in the reign of Haroon-ool-Rusheed, and in the reign of Sooltan Beiram Ghiznevy it was converted into Persian from the Arabic, and subsequently, in the reign of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza Khwarużmy, Moolla Hussun Waiz Kashfy rendered the old Persian work, full of Arabic words, and of Arabic poetry, into plain and elegant Persian, to which he gave the name of Anwar Soheily. Beiram, in the

* A game not unlike backgammon. It is known in England by its Hindû name, pachees.

days of his prosperity, went twice into Hindoostan, to chastise his refractory subjects, and the collectors of the revenue. On the first occasion he reduced Mahomed Bhyleem, who had charge of the government of Lahore on the part of his brother Arslan. Having defeated and taken him prisoner, on the 27th of Rumzan, in the year 512, he pardoned him, upon his swearing allegiance. The King then reinstated him in the government, and returned to Ghizny. In the mean time, Mahomed Bhyleem built the fort of Nagore, in the province of Sewalik, whither he conveyed his wealth, his family, and his effects. He then raised an army, composed of Arabs, Persians, Afghans, and Khiljies, and committed great devastations in the territories of the Indian independent princes with such success, that he aspired at length to the throne. Sooltan Beiram, apprised of his motions, collected an army, and marched a second time towards Hindoostan. Mahomed Bhyleem with his ten sons, who had each the command of a province, advanced to oppose the King as far as Mooltan. A battle ensued; but the curse of ingratitude fell like a storm on the head of the perfidious rebel, who, in his flight, with his ten sons and attendants, sank into a deep quagmire, wherein they all perished. The King after this victory having appointed Salar Hussun, the son of Ibrahim Alvy, to the chief command of the conquered part of India, returned himself to Ghizny. He soon after publicly executed Kootb-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory Afghan, to whom he had given his daughter

Rumzan 27. A. H. 512. Dec. 5. A. D. 1118.

in marriage. Seif-ood-Deen-Soory, Prince of Ghoor, brother of the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death, with which he marched direct to Ghizny, which was evacuated by Beiram, who fled to Kirman. This is not the Kirman of Persia, so well known, but a town lying between Ghizny and India, which had been built by the Afghans to guard a pass in the mountains. Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, without further opposition, entered Ghizny, where, having established himself with the consent of the people, he sent his brother, Alla-ood-Deen Soor, to rule his native principality of Ghoor. Notwithstanding his endeavours he failed in rendering himself popular at Ghizny; and the inhabitants conceiving a dislike to his government, secretly wished the re-establishment of their former king. Some of the chiefs, availing themselves of this favourable circumstance, informed Beiram of their disposition towards him. It was now winter, and most of the followers of the Prince of Ghoor had returned to their families, when Sooltan Beiram unexpectedly appeared before Ghizny with a considerable army. Seif-ood-Deen being in no condition to oppose him with his own troops, and placing little reliance on those of Ghizny, was preparing to retreat to Ghoor, when the Ghiznevides entreated him to engage Beiram, promising to exert themselves to the utmost. This was done only to enable them to put their design of seizing him into execution. The Ghoory prince advanced, but was instantly surrounded by the troops of Ghizny, and taken prisoner, while Beiram in person put the forces of Ghoor to flight. The unhappy

captive had his forehead blackened, and was seated astride on a bullock, with his face towards the tail. In this manner he was led round the whole city, amid the shouts and insults of the mob; after which, being put to torture, his head was cut off and sent to Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky, while his vizier, Syud Mujd-ood-Deen, was impaled.

When this news reached the ears of his brother Alla-ood-Deen, he burnt with fury, and having determined to take bitter revenge, invaded Ghizny. Beiram, hearing of his approach, prepared to receive him. He wrote him a letter, at the same time endeavouring to intimidate him, by vaunting of the superiority of his troops, and advising him not to plunge the whole family of Ghoor into the same abyss of misfortune. Alla-ood-Deen replied, "That his threats were as im-"potent as his arms; that it was no new thing for "kings to make war on their neighbours, but that "barbarity like his was unknown to the brave, and "such as he had never heard of being exercised "towards princes; that he might be assured that "God had forsaken him, and had ordained that "he (Alla-ood-Deen) should be the instrument of "that just revenge denounced against him for "putting to death the representative of the inde-"pendent and very ancient family of Ghoor." All hopes of accommodation being thus at an end, Beiram advanced to give Alla-ood-Deen battle. The offer was not rejected, and the bloody conflict commenced with fury on both sides. At first the troops of Ghizny, by their superior numbers, bore down those of Ghoor; till Alla-ood-Deen, seeing

his affairs desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, denominated the greater and lesser Khurmil *, whom he saw in the front standing like two rocks, and bearing the brunt of the action, to support him, and, forcing his elephants towards Beiram, these two heroes cleared all before him. Beiram perceiving Alla-ood-Deen stood aloof, but his son, Dowlut Shah, who held the office of commander-in-chief in his father's army, accepting the challenge, advanced to oppose his rival. The elder of the Khurmils intervening, ripped up the belly of Dowlut Shah's elephant, but was himself killed by the fall of the animal. Alla-ood-Deen, meantime, transfixed the Prince Dowlut Shah with his spear. The other Khurmil attacked the elephant of Beiram, and after many wounds brought the enormous animal to the ground, but while he was rising from under the elephant's side, being much bruised by its fall, Beiram escaped, and instantly mounting a horse, joined in the flight of his troops, which were repulsed on all sides.

Beiram fled with the scattered remains of his army towards Hindoostan, but overwhelmed with his misfortunes, sunk under the hand of death, in the year 547, after a reign of 35 years.

A. H. 547.
A. D. 1152.

* I have doubts whether this word is as I have written it, or whether it should not be Firmil. There is a tribe so called.

SOOLTAN KHOOSROW BIN BEIRAM GHIZNEVY.

Conduct of Alla-ood-Deen, after the capture of Ghizny, towards the inhabitants. — Khoosrow attempts to recover Ghizny, but is deterred, owing to the death of Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky. — Ghizny occupied by the Ghiza Toorkmans. — Death of Sooltan Khoosrow.

Sooltan Khoosrow, the son of Beiram, leaving the kingdom of Ghizny to his enemies, marched to Lahore, where he was saluted King by the unanimous voice of his people. In the mean time, Alla-ood-deen Ghoory entered Ghizny with little opposition, and that noble city was given up to flame, slaughter, and devastation. The massacre continued for the space of seven days, in which time pity seemed to have fled from the earth, and the fiery spirits of demons to actuate men. Alla-ood-Deen, who for his conduct on this occasion is justly denominated Jehansooz (the incendiary of the world), as if insatiate of revenge, carried a number of the most venerable and learned men in chains to Feroz-Kooh, to adorn his triumph, where he ordered their throats to be cut, tempering earth with their blood, with which he plastered the walls of his native city.

After the return of Alla-ood-Deen to Ghoor, Sooltan Khoosrow, hoping to recover his lost kingdom of Ghizny, and depending on the assistance of Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky, marched from Lahore ;

but when he arrived on the borders of Ghizny, he received intelligence that Sooltan Sunjur had been defeated and taken prisoner by the Toorkmans of Ghiza, who were then marching with a great army to Ghizny, to subdue that kingdom. This news obliged him to retreat again to Lahore, being in no condition to oppose them, and he governed the Indian provinces in peace, with the justice common to virtuous kings. The Ghiza Toorkmans, in the mean time, expelled the troops of Ghoor, and kept possession of Ghizny for two years, but were expelled in their turn by the Ghoories. The latter did not long enjoy their conquest; for they were again expelled by Assumud, a general of Sooltan Khoosrow, who for a short space recovered and held possession of Ghizny.

A. H. 555. A. D. 1160. Sooltan Khoosran died at Lahore in the year *555*, after a reign of seven years.

SOOLTAN KHOOSROW MULLIK BIN KHOOSROW GHIZNEVY

Is in possession of the territories in India occupied by his grandfather Beiram. — Ghizny recovered from the Toorkmans by Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory. — Pishawur, and all the territory west of the Indus, occupied by Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory — he invades Punjab, and besieges Khoosrow Mullik in Lahore — concludes peace. — Mullik Shah, the son of Khoosrow Mullik, is delivered up as a hostage. — Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory returns to Lahore, and attacks it, but fails — he adopts a stratagem to seize Khoosrow Mullik, which succeeds. — The end of the dynasty of the Ghiznevides.

WHEN Sooltan Khoosrow departed this life, his son Khoosrow Mullik ascended the throne, which he adorned with benevolence and justice, extending his rule over all the provinces of India, formerly possessed by the Emperors Sooltan Ibraheem and Sooltan Beiram. In his time, Sooltan Shahab-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory, the brother of Alla-ood-Deen, invaded the kingdom of Ghizny, which he reduced, and not satisfied with that achievement, marched an army into India, overrunning the provinces of Pishawur, Afghanistan, Mooltan, and the Indus. He advanced at length to Lahore, and in the year 576 invested Khoosrow Mullik in his capital; but being unable to take the place, peace was concluded. Mahomed Ghoory evacuated the country, carrying with him Mullik Shah, the

A. H. 576.
A. D. 1180.

son of Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik, a child of four years of age, as hostage for the performance of the treaty.

The terms not being fulfilled by Khoosrow Mullik, Mahomed Ghoory, in the year 580, returned to Lahore; but being foiled in his attempt on the town, he subjected the open country to devastation by fire and sword. He then repaired and strengthened the fort of Sealkote, where he left a strong garrison, and returned to Ghizny. In his absence Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik, in alliance with the Gukkurs, besieged the fort of Sealkote; but their enterprize proving unsuccessful, they were obliged to desist.

A. H. 580. A. D. 1184.

Some time after these events, Mahomed Ghoory, collecting his forces, attempted a third time to reduce the city of Lahore, which he effected by treachery in the following manner. While he was preparing for this expedition, he gave out, that it was intended against the Suljooks, writing at the same time to Khoosrow Mullik, that he was desirous of accommodating their differences by a treaty of peace. To convince him of the sincerity of his intention, he released his son Mullik Shah, and sent him back to Lahore with a splendid retinue. The escort had orders to make short marches, while his father Khoosrow Mullik, impatient to see him, advanced a part of the way to meet him. In the mean time Mahomed Ghoory, with 20,000 doaspa *

* Doaspa signifies double-horsed cavalry. For a description of this mode of attack, vide Malcolm's Hist. Pers. vol. ii. pp. 240, 241.

cavalry, marching with incredible expedition, by a circuitous route, turned the mountains, and cutting off Khoosrow Mullik from Lahore, surrounded his small camp in the night. The Emperor awoke in the morning as if from a dream, and seeing no means of escape, threw himself on the mercy of his enemy. Mahomed Ghoory demanded the instant possession of Lahore. The gates of the city were accordingly thrown open to receive him; and the empire passed from the house of Ghizny to that of Ghoor, as we shall see more fully in the history of that race.

A. H. 582. A. D. 1186. The reign of Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik lasted 28 years.

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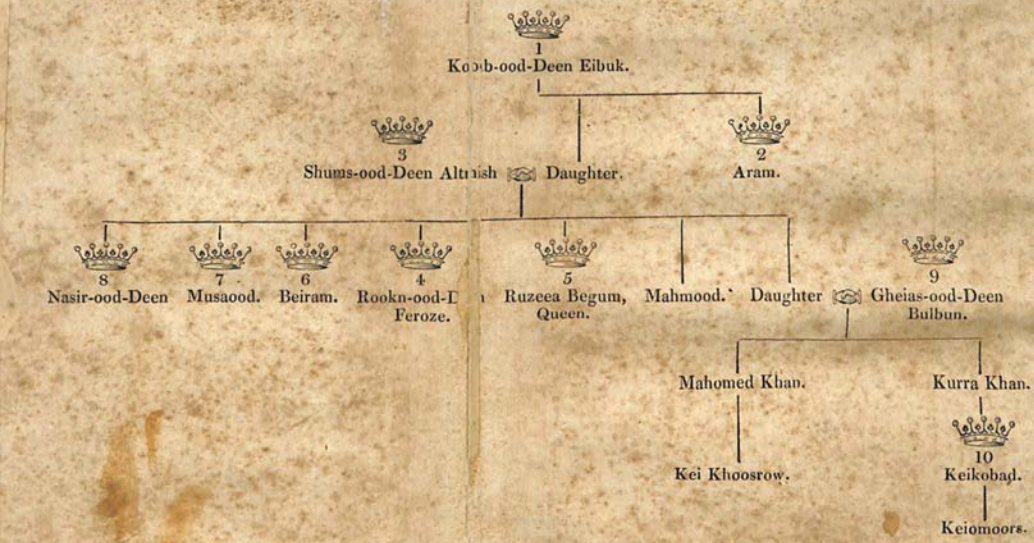
FIRST TARTAR DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY.



CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY.

MAHOMED GHOORY.

Pedigree of the race of Mahomed Ghoory. — Gheias-ood-Deen, King of Ghizny and Ghoor. — Moiz-ood-Deen Mahomed, his general, appointed governor of Ghizny — besieges and takes Oocha — marches to Guzerat, and is defeated by the Hindoos. — Invades India a second time — takes Bituhnda — is opposed by the Rajas of Ajmere and Dehly, near Tahneswur, on the banks of the Soorsutty. — Battle of Narain. — Mahomed Ghoory defeated — retreats to Lahore, and thence to Ghoor. — Bituhnda retaken by the Hindoos. — Mahomed Ghoory invades India a third time, with 120,000 men — is opposed on the former field of battle by the Hindoos. — Exertions made by them to collect a large army — they are defeated. — Chawund Ray, King of Dehly, is killed. — Mahomed leaves Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk governor of Kohram and the new conquests in the East. — Mahomed Ghoory returns to India — defeats the Raja of Kunowj and Benares — takes Asny, Benares, and Kole, and retires to Ghizny. — Returns again to India — Byana and Gualiar taken. — Mahmood retreats to Ghizny. — Kalpy, Budaoon, and Kalunjur taken by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk. — Gheias-ood-Deen Ghoory dies — is succeeded by his brother Mahomed Ghoory. — Operations to the westward and northward of Ghizny. — Ghizny and Mooltan seized by his generals, who oppose Mahomed Ghoory on his return. — Mahomed defeats them — proceeds to Lahore. — is assassinated by the Gukkurs in Punjab. — Distractions in the empire.

HISTORIANS relate that about the time when Fureedoon subdued Zohak Marry *, two brothers descended from the latter (Soory and Sam) were in the service of the former prince. Having incurred his displeasure, they fled with a party of their friends to Nehawund, where they took up their abode, and possessed themselves of a small territory. Soory became the chief of a tribe, and Sam was his general. Soory gave his daughter in marriage to his nephew Shoojaa †, the son of Sam. Shoojaa, after his father's decease, succeeded him as general. But his enemies traduced him to his uncle, who, inflamed with jealousy and hatred, wished to take away his daughter from him. Shoojaa discovering this, fled in the night with ten horsemen and a few camels laden with his effects, accompanied by his wife and children, to the mountains of Goor, where he built a castle, and called it Zoomyandesh. Here he was gradually joined by many of his friends, and long maintained his post against Fureedoon, but was eventually obliged to submit, and to pay him tribute.

Thus the race of Zohak succeeded to this government, which gained strength by degrees, till the time of the Prophet, when it was ruled by

* One of the earliest of the fabulous monarchs of Persia. The origin of his receiving the appellation of Marry, or the Snaky, will be found in the Shah Nama, but does not seem to require any further observation in this place.

† My MSS. all have Shoojaa. It is most probably an error, as it seems very unlikely that such a purely Arabic word should have been adopted as a family name among the people of Tooran, so long before the Mahomedan conquest.

Shist, who, as some assert, was converted to the faith by Ally, and obtained a grant of his kingdom. The genealogy of this race is thus derived *: Shist, the son of Hureek, the son of Enoch, the son of Bhishty, the son of Zowzun, the son of Heyn, the son of Bharam, the son of Heejush, the son of Ibraheem, the son of Saad, the son of Assud, the son of Shudad, the son of Zohak, the son of Bostam, the son of Kitmaz, the son of Nureeman, the son of Afreedoon, the son of Sumud, the son of Sufeed Asp, the son of Zohak, the son of Shimram, the son of Hindasp, the son of Syamook, the son of Jam, the son of Kurstasp, the son of Zohak. They are, therefore, properly denoted Shisty. During the power of the caliphs of Oomya it was usual among the people to ascend the pulpits, and to caluminate the family of Ally. The Ghoories, however, never lent themselves to this practice; but in the time of Aboo Mooslim, Folad Shisty assisted in putting down the enemies of the descendants of the Prophet. Ameer Yehya, the son of Nathan, the son of Wurmish, the son of Wurmunish, the son of Purveez, the son of Shist, was contemporary with Haroon-ool-Rusheed.† Soory, the son of Mahomed, the nephew of the Ameer Yehya, was

* Little reliance can be placed on these ancient genealogies, which are either imperfectly handed down to posterity by tradition, or more frequently composed on the occasion of any member of the family rising to distinction, as kings; to please whom, poets and bards have indulged their imaginations in all ages.

† The famous Caliph, so well known in Europe since the translation of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. He was contemporary with Charlemagne.

contemporary with the Sufary dynasty, and Mahomed, the son of Soory, was contemporary with Mahmood Ghiznevy. He refused to pay tribute, but being attacked by Mahmood, was defeated and taken prisoner: his son Aboo Ally was placed in his stead; and shortly afterwards, Abass, the son of Shist, son of Mahomed Soory, and brother of Aboo Ally, succeeded to his government. During his reign there were seven years of drought in Ghoor, so that the earth was burnt up; and thousands of men and dumb animals perished from heat and famine. Abool Abass made war with Sooltan Ibraheem, by whom he was defeated and taken prisoner; the kingdom being conferred upon his son Mahomed, who swore allegiance to the empire of Ghizny. He was succeeded by his son Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun, who was killed while attacking a fort by an arrow, which entered his eye.

On the death of Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun, his son Sam was obliged to fly to India, and follow the occupation of a merchant; by which he acquired much wealth, and returned by sea towards his native country. But unfortunately he was wrecked, and drowned. His son Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein secured a plank, to which a tiger which they were bringing in the ship also clung, till at length both man and tiger were cast ashore, after driving with the tide for three days. When he got footing on land, he proceeded to the nearest town, but it being late before he arrived, he could obtain no lodging, and was obliged to creep under the first shed he could find. The watch going the

rounds discovered him, and concluding him to be a thief, conveyed him to prison. He was condemned without examination to slavery for seven years, and only obtained his release casually in a general discharge of prisoners from the gaols, on the occasion of the recovery of the governor from a severe sickness. Eiz-oon-Deen Hoossein now proceeded towards Ghizny, on the way to which place he encountered a gang of robbers, that had for a long time infested the roads. On perceiving him to be a man of great bodily strength, and apparently bold and daring, they insisted on his joining them. Unfortunately, on that very night, a party of the troops of the Sooltan Ibraheem surrounded and carried them all in chains to the capital, where they were condemned to death.

When the executioner was binding up the eyes of Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein, he raised a piteous complaint, protesting, and calling God to witness, that he was innocent, which softened even the heart of the executioner, and on being required to state what he had to say in his defence, he did it in so simple and circumstantial a manner, that the magistrate in attendance, believing him to be innocent, petitioned the King in his favour. On being brought before the King, he acquitted himself with such modesty and eloquence, that he was pardoned, and even taken into his service. Sooltan Ibraheem, some time after, created Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein Ameer Hajib, in which station he conducted himself so well, that the King gave him a princess of the house of Ghizny in marriage. He rose daily in favour and estimation, till Sooltan Musaood, the

son of Ibraheem, put him in possession of the principality of Ghoor.

Some historians affirm, that Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein was the son and not the grandson of Kootb-ood-Deen Hoossein. By the Princess of Ghizny he had seven sons ; viz.

1st. Fukhr-ood-Deen Musaood, King of Bamyan.

2d. Kootb-ood-Deen Mahomed, who married his cousin, a princess of Ghizny, the daughter of Sooltan Beiram.

3d. Shajaa-ood-Deen Ally, who died in infancy.

4th. Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed, who held the government of Zumeen Dawer, situated near Ghoor, and a dependency of Kundahar.

5th. Seif-ood-Deen Soory.

6th. Baha-ood-Deen Sam.

7th. Alla-ood-Deen Hoossein. During his lifetime, Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein paid tribute to the Suljooks, as well as to the Ghiznevides. When Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein died, his sons (entitled the Seven Stars) separated into two divisions: the one gave origin to the dynasty of kings at Bamyan, called also Tokharistan and Mohatila; and the other, to the Ghoory dynasty at Ghizny. Of the latter race was Kootb-ood-Deen Mahomed (entitled the King of the Mountains). He married the daughter of Sooltan Beiram, King of Ghizny, and having founded the city of Feroozkooh, made it his capital. In the vicinity of this place, having inclosed with a wall a spot of ground about two parasangs in circumference, as a hunting park, he assumed all the dignities of a sovereign. At length he was induced to attack Ghizny. Sooltan Bei-

ram obtaining intimation of his intentions, contrived to get him in his power, and eventually poisoned him. This is the origin of the feuds between the houses of Ghoor and Ghizny.

Seif-ood-Deen Soory, the fifth son, who had accompanied his brother, escaped the snare, and fled to Ferooz-kooh, where, putting himself at the head of his brother's army, he marched towards Ghizny to revenge his death, as we have seen in the history of that kingdom. Ghizny fell, and Sooltan Beiram fled to India. He returned again in the winter, when the troops of Seif-ood-Deen were mostly gone to Feroozkooh and Ghoor, from whence they could not easily return, on account of the roads and deep snow. Seif-ood-Deen Soory, as before related, was betrayed into the hands of Sooltan Beiram by the inhabitants, and with his vizier suffered an ignominious death.

This act of cruelty induced Baha-ood-Deen Sam, the sixth brother, to invade Ghizny, with an army from Feroozkooh and Ghoor; but he died suddenly, of the small-pox. The seventh brother, Alla-ood-Deen Hoossein (entitled the Incendiary), however, took ample vengeance, and destroyed Ghizny. He carried his animosity so far as to destroy every monument of the Ghizny emperors, with the exception of those of Mahmood, Musaood, and Ibraheem; but he defaced all the inscriptions, even of their times, from every public edifice. On returning to Ghoor, he appointed his nephews, Gheias-ood-Deen and Moyiz-ood-Deen Sam, (the sons of Baha-ood-Deen Sam, who had shortly before died of the small-pox,) to the government of

a province of Ghoor, called Sunja *; but finding the revenues of that province did not support them in the style they wished, they made encroachments on their neighbours. This circumstance having reached the ears of Alla-ood-Deen, he sent a force against them, and seizing them both, confined them in a fort of Joorjistan.

Alla-ood-Deen Hoossein, elate with his new acquisition, refused to pay to Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky the tribute annually given by his father. He over-ran the provinces of Bulkh and Herat; but was eventually defeated, and taken prisoner; notwithstanding which, Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky restored him to his kingdom, and he died a natural death in the year 551.

A. H. 551.
A. D. 1156.

Alla-ood-Deen was succeeded by his son Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, who on his accession released his two cousins from their confinement in Joorjistan, and again conferred on them the government of Sunja. In little more than a year, he commenced a war with the Ghiza Toorkmans, and on the day of battle fell by the hand of one of his own soldiers.

He was succeeded by his eldest cousin, Gheias-ood-Deen, who appointed his brother, Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory†, his general. This illustrious captain, in the name of his brother, subdued Khorassan, and a great part of India; and Gheias-ood-Deen annexed those countries to his own dominions. His death happened, as will afterwards appear, in the year 599.

On the accession of Gheias-ood-Deen to the

* This place is not down in any of the maps I have consulted.

† He is generally called in history Mahomed Ghoory, by which name he will henceforward be recognised.

throne of Ghizny and Ghoor, he appointed his brother, Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed, governor of Tukeeabad: the latter continued from that period to make incursions upon Ghizny, which had reverted into the hands of some of the descendants of the house of Subooktugeen. In the year 567, Gheias-ood-Deen marched in person against the officers of Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik, the last of the Ghiznevides, and recovered Ghizny from them. He gave the government to his brother Mahomed, who in the year 572 led an army towards Mooltan, and having subdued that province, marched to Oocha.* The Raja was besieged in his fort; but Mahomed Ghoory, finding it would be difficult to reduce the place, sent a private message to the Raja's wife, promising to marry her if she would deliver up her husband.

A. H. 567. A. D. 1171.

A. H. 572. A. D. 1176.

The base woman returned for answer, that she was rather too old herself to think of matrimony; but that she had a beautiful and young daughter, whom if he would promise to espouse, and leave her in free possession of her wealth, she would in a few days remove the Raja. Mahomed Ghoory accepted the proposal; and this Princess, in a few days, found means to assassinate her husband, and to open the gates to the enemy.

Mahomed only partly performed his promise, by marrying the daughter, upon her embracing the true faith; but he made no scruple to depart from

* It was at this place that Alexander was so severely wounded after scaling the walls, and where he so narrowly escaped with his life. Quint. Curt. lib. ix. cap. iv. v.

his engagements with the mother; for instead of trusting her with the country, he sent her to Ghizny, where she afterwards died of sorrow and disappointment. Nor did the daughter long survive, for in the space of two years she also fell a victim to grief.

Mahomed Ghoory, having conferred the government of Mooltan and Oocha upon one Ally Kirmany, returned to Ghizny. In the year 574, he again marched to Oocha and Moultan, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Guzerat. The Prince Bhim-dew (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Guzerat, who opposed Mahmood Ghiznevy,) advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter. They suffered many hardships in their retreat, before they reached Ghizny.

A. H. 574.
A. D. 1178.

In the year following, Mahomed Ghoory having recruited his forces, marched towards Pishawur, which in a short time was brought under subjection. He proceeded, in the course of the next year, towards Lahore, where he made war with Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik, the last of the Ghiznevides, who being reduced at that time, by wars both with the Indian princes and the Afghans, was unable to oppose him in the field. Mahomed Ghoory, finding he could not take Lahore by force, offered to treat with Khoosrow Mullik, who having gladly availed himself of the circumstance, gave his son Mullik Shah into his hands as an hostage for the performance

A. H. 575.
A. D. 1179.

A. H. 576.
A. D. 1180.

of part of the treaty. Mahomed Ghoory now returned to Ghizny; but in the next year marched towards Deebul, in the province of Sind, and overran the whole country as far as the sea-coast, returning laden with rich spoil.

A. H. 580. A. D. 1184. In the year 580, he again invaded Lahore, where Khoosrow Mullik, shutting himsel up in the fort, as before, sustained a long siege, from which Mahomed was at length compelled to desist. In this expedition he repaired the fort of Sealkote, wherein he left a garrison to command the countries between the rivers Ravy and Chunab, placed by him under the government of Hoossein Firmully, while he himself retired to Ghizny. This fort, as we have before related, being successfully besieged, and taken by Khoosrow Mullik, occasioned the third expedition of Mahomed Ghoory to Lahore,

A. H. 582. A. D. 1186. of which he made himself master in the year 582, by the stratagem mentioned in the conclusion of the history of Ghizny. He sent Khoosrow Mullik and his family prisoners to his brother Sooltan Gheias-oodeen at Feroozkooh, who confined them in a fort in Joorjistan, where they were some time after put to death, during the subsequent war with Khwaruzm Shah, and the dynasty of Ghizny then became wholly extinct.

Mahomed Ghoory, having settled the province of Lahore, confided the government to Ally Kirmany, governor of Mooltan, and retired to Ghizny.

A. H. 587. A. D. 1191. In the year 587, he marched again to Hindoostan, and proceeding towards

Ajmere, he took the town of Bituhnda, where he left Mullik Zeea-ood Deen Toozuky with above a thousand chosen horse, and some foot to form its garrison. While on his return, he heard that Pithow Ray, Raja of Ajmeer, with his brother Chawund Ray, the Raja of Dehly, in alliance with other Indian princes, were marching towards Bituhnda with two hundred thousand horse, and three thousand elephants. Mahomed Ghoory marched to the relief of his garrison; but passing beyond Bituhnda, he encountered the enemy at the village of Narain, now called Tirowry *, on the banks of the Soorsutty, fourteen miles from Tahnesur, and eighty from Dehly, where he gave them battle. At the first onset his right and left wings, being out-flanked, fell back, till joining in the rear, his army formed a circle. Mahomed Ghoory was in person in the centre of his army, and being informed that both wings were defeated, was advised to provide for his own safety. Enraged at this counsel, he cut down the messenger, and rushing on towards the enemy, with a few followers, committed terrible slaughter. The eyes of Chawund Ray falling on him, he drove his elephant directly against Mahomed Ghoory, who perceiving his intention charged and delivered his lance full into the Raja's mouth, by which many of his teeth were knocked out. In the mean time the Raja of Dehly pierced the King through the right arm, with an arrow. He had almost fallen, when some of his chiefs advanced to his rescue. This effort to save

* I do not perceive this place in any of our modern maps.

him gave an opportunity to one of his faithful servants to leap up behind Mahomed Ghoory, who, faint from loss of blood, had nearly fallen from his horse, but was carried triumphantly off the field though almost wholly deserted by his army, which was pursued by the enemy nearly forty miles. After this defeat, when he had recovered of his wound at Lahore, he appointed governors to the different provinces he possessed in India, and returned in person to Ghoor. At Ghoor, he disgraced all those officers who had deserted him in the battle, and compelled them to walk round the city with their horse's mouth-bags, filled with barley, hung about their necks; at the same time forcing them to eat the grain like brutes. The author of the Hubeeb-oos-Seer relates, contrary to all my other authorities, that when Mahomed was wounded, he fell from his horse, and lay upon the field among the slain till night. And that in the dark, a party of his own body-guard returned to search for his body, and carried him off his to his camp.

After the retreat of Mahomed Ghoory, the allied rajas continued their march to Bituhnda, which they besieged for one year and one month, and at last were obliged to grant favourable terms to the garrison. Mahomed remained a few months with his brother at Ghoor, who still retained the title of king, and then returning to Ghizny, spent the ensuing year in pleasure and festivity. At length, having recruited an army, consisting of 120,000 chosen horse, composed of Toorks, Tajeeks, and Afghans, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with jewels, and their armour inlaid with

silver and gold, he marched from Ghizny towards India, without disclosing his intentions.

When he had advanced as far as Pishawur, an old sage of Ghoor, prostrating himself before him, said, — "O King, we trust in thy conduct and "wisdom, but as yet thy design has been a subject "of much speculation among us." Mahomed Ghoory replied, — "Know, old man, that since "the time of my defeat in Hindoostan, notwith-"standing external appearances, I have never "slumbered in ease, or waked, but in sorrow and "anxiety. I have, therefore, determined, with "this army, to recover my lost honour from those "idolaters, or die in the attempt." The sage, kissing the ground, said, — "Victory and triumph "be thy attendants, and fortune be the guide of "thy paths. But, O King, let the petition of "thy slave find favour in thy ears, and let those "chiefs you have so justly disgraced be permitted "to take the same opportunity of wiping away the "stain on their character." The prince listened to his request, and sent an order to Ghizny to release the disgraced officers from confinement, commanding such of them as were desirous of recovering their character to attend him. They all accordingly joined the camp, and each received a robe of honour, according to his rank. The next day, the royal standard was put in motion, and the army advanced to Mooltan, where Mahomed conferred titles and offices on all who had been firm to his interest. He then proceeded to Lahore, from whence he despatched Kowam-ool-Moolk Humzvy, one of his principal chiefs, ambassador to Ajmeer,

with a declaration of war, should the Indians refuse to embrace the true faith.

Pithow Ray sent a haughty answer, and immediately wrote for succours to all the neighbouring princes. Nor did his allies refuse their aid, so that he was soon enabled to meet Mahomed Ghoory with an army, consisting (according to the most authentic accounts) of 300,000 horse, besides above 3000 elephants, and a body of infantry. The Hindoos waited to receive the Mahomedans on the former field of battle. The two armies encamped in sight of each other, with the river Soorsutty between them.

The Rajpoot princes*, to the number of 150, had assembled in this vast camp, having sworn by the water of the Ganges, that they would conquer their enemies, or die martyrs to their faith. They then wrote a letter to Mahomed in these terms: — "To the bravery of our soldiers we know you are "no stranger; and to our great superiority in "number, which daily increases, your eyes bear "testimony. If you are wearied of your own exist-"ence, yet have pity upon your troops, who may "still think it a happiness to live. It were better, "then, you should repent in time of the rash re-"solution you have taken, and we shall permit you "to retreat in safety; but if you have determined "to brave your evil destiny, we have sworn by "our gods to advance upon you with our rank-

* This title was applied to all the members of a family which enjoyed feudatory estates, and may be compared to the title of baron in Germany.

" breaking elephants, our plain-trampling horses,
" and blood-thirsting soldiers, early in the morning,
" to crush the army which your ambition has led
" to ruin."

Mahomed returned them this politic answer: —
" I have marched into India at the command of
" my brother, whose general only I am. Both
" honour and duty bind me to exert myself to the
" utmost in his service; I cannot retreat, therefore,
" without orders; but I shall be glad to obtain a
" truce till he is informed of the situation of
" affairs, and till I have received his answer."
This letter produced the intended effect; for the enemy conceiving that Mahomed was intimidated, spent the night in riot and revelry, while he was preparing to surprise them. He accordingly forded the river a little before the dawn of the morning, drew up his army on the sands, and had entered part of the Indian camp before the alarm was spread. Notwithstanding the confusion which naturally ensued on this occasion, the Hindoo line was of such extent that they had sufficient time to draw out their cavalry, which served to check the approach of the Mahomedans, until they themselves were able to advance, which they did with great resolution and some order, in four lines.

Mahomed Ghoory, on seeing this, ordered his troops to halt, and commanded his army, composed of four divisions, to charge in succession on the centre, and to renew the attack by turns, wheeling to the rear after they had discharged their arrows. If hard pressed, they had orders to give ground gradually as the enemy

advanced with their elephants. In this manner he fought, retreating in good order till sun-set, when, thinking he had sufficiently worn out the enemy and deluded them with a hope of victory, he put himself at the head of 12,000 of his best horse, whose riders were covered with steel armour, and making one desperate charge, carried death and destruction throughout the Hindoo ranks. The disorder increased every where, till at length the panic became general. The Moslems, as if they now only began to be in earnest, committed such havoc, that this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins.

Chawund Ray, King of Dehly, and many other princes, were slain on the field, while Pithow Ray*, King of Ajmeer, being taken in the neighbourhood of the Soorsutty, was afterwards put to death. The whole of the camp-equipage, and wealth of the several princes, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and the forts of Soorsutty, Samana, Kohram, and Hansy, surrendered after the victory. Mahomed Ghoory in person went to Ajmeer, of which he also took possession, after having put some thousands of the inhabitants, who opposed him, to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery. Afterwards, on a promise of a punctual payment of a large tribute, he delivered over the country

* Pithow Ray, or, properly, Prithi Raj, was ruler of Rajesthan, according to Colonel Tod. Ajmeer was his patrimony. Chaond, or Chawund, was his lieutenant at Dehly, whose sister was espoused by Prithi Raj: by her he had a son, Ramsi, who fell in defending Dehly.

of Ajmeer to the Gola, or natural son, of Pithow Ray. He now turned his arms towards Dehly; but was prevailed on by the new king, with great presents, not to prosecute the war further. On this occasion he left his faithful slave and friend, Mullik Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, in the town of Kohram, with a considerable detachment, and marched himself with the body of his army towards the mountains of Sewalik, which lie to the north of India, destroying and plundering the countries on his retreat towards Ghizny. After the return of Mahomed Ghoory, his General, Mullik Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, took the fort of Merut and the city of Dehly from the family of Chawund Ray; and it is owing to this circumstance that foreign nations say, "The empire of Dehly was founded by a "slave." In the year 589 he also took the fort of Kole; and making Dehly the seat of his government, established himself there, and compelled all the districts around to acknowledge the faith of Islam.

A. H. 589. A. D. 1193.

Mahomed Ghoory, in the mean time returning from Ghizny, marched towards Kunowj, and engaged Jye-chund Ray, the Prince of Kunowj and Benares, who was at the head of a numerous army of horse, besides upwards of 300 elephants. This prince led his forces into the field, between Chundwar and Etawa, where he sustained a signal defeat from the vanguard of the Ghiznevide army, led by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, and lost the whole of his baggage and elephants. Mahomed Ghoory then marched to the fort of Asny, where Jye-chund Ray had laid up his treasure, which in a

few days he also took, and found there gold, silver, and precious stones, to a large amount. He marched from thence to Benares, where, having broken the idols in above 1000 temples, he purified and consecrated the latter to the worship of the true God. From thence he returned to the fort of Kole, where he confirmed Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk in the vice-regency of India. After this, the King's army, laden with treasure, took the route of Ghizny.

Meanwhile, one of the relations of Pithow Ray, whose name was Hemraj, expelled the Gola, or natural son, of Pithow Ray, from Ajmeer. The latter had immediate recourse for assistance to Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, who accordingly marched, in the year 591, from Dehly, against Hemraj. This prince gave the Mahomedans battle, in which he lost both the victory and his life. Kootb-ood-Deen, after this event, appointed a governor of his own faith to control the Raja, and led his army to Nehrwala, the capital of the province of Guzerat, where, having defeated Bheem Dew, he took ample revenge for the overthrow formerly sustained by his master. He remained some time plundering that rich country, but was recalled by orders from Ghizny, and commanded to repair instantly to Dehly.

A. H. 591. A. D. 1194.

In the following year, Mahomed Ghoory returned to Hindoostan, and proceeding to Byana took it; and having conferred the government on Baha-ood Deen Toghrul, commanded him to besiege Gua-

A. H. 592. A. D. 1195.

liar, himself returning to settle some affairs at Ghizny. In the mean time, the strong fort of Gualiar fell after a long siege. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, ambitious of extending his conquests, led his army into Rajpootana, where, having experienced a severe defeat, he was compelled to seek protection in the fort of Ajmeer.

A. H. 593. A. D. 1196. In the year 593, Kootb-ood-Deen marched again from Dehly, and reduced Nehrwala, in Guzerat, with all its dependencies. After his return, he took the forts of Kalunjur, Kalpy, and Budaoon.

Mahomed Ghoory, meanwhile, being engaged in an expedition on the west towards Toos and Suruksh, heard of the death of his brother Gheias-ood-Deen, who had long lost all power in the empire, preserving only the name of King, so that Mahomed Ghoory succeeded without opposition. He now returned towards Ghizny, by the route of Badghees, and subduing part of the country of Khwaruzm, recovered it out of the hands of the Suljooks. He divided this new conquest among several members of his own family, giving the government of Feroozkooh and Ghoor to his nephew Mullik Zeea-ood-Deen, son-in-law of his late brother Gheias-ood-Deen. He also gave Boost, Furreh, and Isfurar, to the Prince Mahomed, his brother's son, and the government of Hirat and its dependencies to Nasir-ood-Deen, his nephew by a sister.

On his arrival at Ghizny, according to the will of his deceased brother, he was crowned in form; and ascended the throne. In the same year he

heard of the death of Mahomed Zeeruk, Prince of Murv, and in the beginning of the next year marched to complete the conquest of Khwaruzm. The King of Khwaruzm, unable to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the capital of that name. Mahomed Ghoory having encamped on the banks of the great canal, which had been formerly dug to the westward of the city, forthwith attacked the place, but lost many brave officers and men in an attempt to escalade it.

Meanwhile news arrived that Kurra Beg, the general of Ghoorkhan, King of Khutta, and Oothman Khan Samarkandy, were advancing with armies to the relief of Khwaruzm Shah. Mahomed Ghoory, unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city, delayed his retreat till the allied armies advanced so near, that he was compelled to burn his baggage, and to retire with the utmost precipitation towards Khorassan. His army was pressed so closely by troops from that province, that he was compelled to give battle, and was wholly defeated, losing all his elephants and treasure; while the confederate kings, who had taken a circuit to cut off his retreat towards Ghizny, intercepted him.

Surrounded thus by the enemy, he fought, as usual, desperately, though overpowered by numbers. Of his late noble army, there now remained scarce a hundred men, who still defended their King: in spite of which, with this small band he cut his way through his enemies, and arrived in safety at the fort of Andkhoo, situated a short distance from the field of battle. Herein he was be-

sieged; but on paying a large ransom to Oothman Khan Samarkandy, and abandoning the place, he was suffered to return to his own dominions.

When Mahomed Ghoory was defeated, one of his officers named Zeeruk escaped from the field, and imagining his master was slain, made his way to Mooltan. Having waited on Ameer Daood Hussun, governor of the province, he told him that he had a private message from the king. Ameer Daood Hussun retired with him into his closet, where the assassin pretending to whisper into his ear, drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. He then ran instantly to the court-yard, where he proclaimed aloud, that he had killed the traitor, Ameer Daood, in obedience to the King's command, and producing a false order, and commission, to assume the government, he was acknowledged by the army and the people.

The chief of the tribe of mountaineers, called Gukkurs, at this time, hearing that the King was certainly slain, aspired to independence; and collecting in great numbers, advanced towards Lahore, laying waste the country between the rivers Jheelum and Sodra. * Mahomed Ghoory had now obtained permission of the allies to retire unmolested from the fort of Andkhoo, and arrived at Ghizny, where his own slave Yeldooz, having seized on the city, opposed his entrance, which obliged the King to continue his route to Mooltan. Here Zeeruk, who had rebelled against him, also resisted him;

* Sodra is a town in the Chunab, where that river is called after it, as if we should say, the London river instead of the Thames.

but Mahomed Ghoory being by this time joined by many of his friends, gave him battle, and obtaining a complete victory, took the traitor prisoner. The troops of the borders of India having rallied around him, he marched to Ghizny, and at the entreaties of the citizens forgave his rebel slave, and quietly obtained possession of the place. Mahomed Ghoory now concluded a treaty of peace with the King of Khwaruzm; after which, in order to chastise the Gukkurs, he marched towards India. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, from Dehly, attacked the Gukkurs on the east, while the King engaged them from the west. They were defeated and dispersed; and Lahore being recovered out of their hands, Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk returned to his government of Dehly.

During the residence of Mahomed Ghoory at Lahore, on this occasion, the Gukkurs, who inhabited the country along the banks of the Nilab, up to the foot of the mountains of Sewalik, exercised unheard of cruelties on the Mahomedans, and cut off the communication between the provinces of Pishawur and Mooltan. These Gukkurs were a race of wild barbarians, without either religion or morality. It was a custom among them as soon as a female child was born to carry her to the door of the house, and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand, and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means, they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several

husbands to one wife.* When this wife was visited by one of her husbands, she left a mark at the door†, which being observed by any of the other husbands, he withdrew till the signal was taken away. This barbarous people continued to make incursions on the Mahomedans till, in the latter end of this King's reign, their chieftain was converted to the true faith when a captive. After becoming a proselyte he procured his release from the King, who endeavoured to persuade him to convert his followers, and at the same time honoured him with a title and dress, and confirmed him in the title of chief of the mountains. A great part of these mountaineers, having very little notion of any religion, were easily induced to adopt the tenets of the true faith, at the same time most of the infidels who inhabited the mountains between Ghizny and the Indus were also converted, some by force and others by persuasion; and at the present day, being 1018 of the Hijra (A.D. 1609), they continue to profess the faith of Islam.

A. H. 602. A. D. 1205. Mahomed Ghoory, having settled the affairs of India, marched in the year 602 from Lahore, in the direction of Ghizny, conferring the government of Bamyan on

* Infanticide appears, therefore, to be an ancient custom among this people. It was, probably, introduced by the Scythian hordes in their emigrations into India. The plurality of husbands is, I believe, now confined to the Indians of the western coast.

† In all Asiatic countries, the shoes being left at the door indicate the presence of visitors.

one of his relations (Buha-ood-Deen), with orders, that when he himself should move towards Toorkistan (which he shortly proposed doing), Buha-ood-Deen should march also with all the forces of Bamyan, and encamp on the banks of the Jyhoon (or Oxus), there to await further orders. He was directed, in the mean time, to throw a bridge over that river. But Mahomed Ghoory was destined never to undertake this project; for on the second of Shaban, having reached the village of Rohtuk, on the banks of the Indus, 20 Gukkurs, who had lost some of their relations in the late wars, entered into a conspiracy against the King's life, and sought an opportunity to carry their horrid purpose into effect. The weather being sultry, Mahomed had ordered the screens, which surround the royal tents in the form of a large square, to be struck, in order to give free admission to the air. This afforded the assassins an opportunity of seeing into the sleeping apartments. They found their way up to the tents in the night, and hid themselves, while one of them advanced to the tent-door, but being stopped by a sentry who was about to seize him, he plunged his dagger into his breast. The cries of the dying man roused the guard, who running out to see what was the matter, the other assassins took that opportunity of cutting their way into the King's tent.

Shaban 2.
A. H. 602.
March 14.
A. D. 1206.

He was asleep, with two slaves fanning him. These stood petrified with terror, when they beheld the Gukkurs enter, who, without hesitation, sheathed their daggers in the King's body, which

was afterwards found to have been pierced by no fewer than 22 wounds.

Thus fell Sooltan Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory, in the year 602, after a reign of 32 years from the commencement of his government over Ghizny, and three from his accession to the throne. The Vizier, Khwaja-ool-Moolk, secured some of the assassins, and put them to a cruel death. Then calling the chiefs together, and having obtained their promise of fidelity in protecting the King's property, which loaded 4000 camels, he prevented the army and the slaves, who had proposed to plunder it, from carrying their scheme into execution. The body was conveyed in mournful pomp towards Ghizny; but when the army reached Pishawur, a contest arose about the succession to the throne.

The chiefs of Ghoor claimed it for Baha-ood-Deen, the King's cousin, governor of Bamyan, and one of the seven sons of Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein; while the Vizier and the officers of the Toorky mercenaries espoused the cause of Mahmood, son of the late King, Gheias-ood-Deen, the elder brother of Mahomed Ghoory. The Vizier wished to march by the route of Kirman, where he knew the governor, Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, was in the interest of Mahmood, hoping, through his assistance, to secure, at least, the treasure for his own party. The chiefs of Ghoor, on the other hand, insisted on proceeding by the route which lay nearest to Bamyan, that they might the sooner be supported by Baha-ood-Deen. Both parties

being thus on the eve of open hostility, the point was given up to the Vizier.

On reaching Kirman, after having suffered greatly by the attacks of the mountaineers, Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz came to meet the Vizier and the King's hearse, at sight of which he unbuckled his armour, threw dust on his head, and evinced every demonstration of sincere grief. He attended the funeral to Ghizny, where the King was buried, on the 22d Shaban, in a new vault which had been built for his daughter.

Shaban 22. A. H. 602. April 3. A. D. 1206.

The treasure this prince left behind him is almost incredible. We shall only mention, as an instance of his wealth, that he had in diamonds alone, of various sizes, 500 muns *; the result of nine expeditions into Hindoostan, from each of which he returned laden with wealth, excepting on two occasions.

Mahomed Ghoory bore the character of a just monarch, fearing God, and ever having the good of his subjects at heart. He paid great attention to learned and devout men, and was never deficient in serving them to the utmost of his power.

* 400 lbs. weight.

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN EIBUK,

A Toorky slave of Mahomed Ghoory — his former life and history — is left Governor of India — is besieged in Hansy by the Hindoos, who are defeated, and compelled to retire — quits Hansy to meet Mahomed Ghoory coming from Pishawur. — Recapitulation of the campaign. — Kootb-ood-Deen is styled son by Mahomed Ghoory — is presented with a white elephant. — Ajmeer taken from the Rajă, and bestowed on Gola, his natural son. — Hemraj, a relation, expels Gola. — Kootb-ood-Deen marches to oppose the usurper, who is defeated. — Ajmeer tributary to the Moslems. — Kootb-ood-Deen invades Guzerat — defeats the Hindoos, and returns to Hansy — visits Kohram and Dehly. — The Raja of Guzerat unites with the Raja of Nagoor to take Ajmeer. — Kootb-ood-Deen marches to oppose them, but is defeated, and severely wounded. — Ajmeer besieged by the allies. — Kootb-ood-Deen receives reinforcements from Ghizny — raises the siege, and pursues the Hindoos to Aboogur — a bloody battle ensues, in which 50,000 *Hindoos are slain — proceeds to Guzerat, and leaves an officer to occupy the country. — Kalunjur besieged and taken by the Moslems. — Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy sent to occupy Behar. — Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk invested with the ensigns of royalty by the successor of Mahomed Ghoory — ascends the throne at Lahore, and assumes the title of King of India — is attacked by Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, whom he defeats — pursues him to Ghizny, and is again crowned — expelled from Ghizny — returns to India — death and character. — Life of Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz.*

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN was of a brave and virtuous disposition; open, and liberal to his friends, courteous and affable to strangers. In the art of war

and good government he was inferior to none, nor was he a mean proficient in literature. In his childhood he was brought from Toorkistan to Nyshapoor, and there sold by a merchant to Kazy Fukhr-ood-Deen, Bin Abdool Azeez Koofy, who finding that heaven had endowed him with genius, sent him to school, where he made considerable progress in the Persian and Arabic languages, as well as in science. His patron and master dying suddenly, he was sold as part of his estate by his executors; and having been bought by a rich merchant for a considerable sum, was presented for sale to Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory.

That prince purchased him, and called him by the familiar name of Eibuk *, from having his little finger broken. Eibuk conducted himself so much to the satisfaction of his new master, that he attracted his particular notice, and daily gained his confidence and favour. One night his master, having given a grand entertainment at court, ordered a liberal distribution of presents to be made among his servants. Eibuk partook of this munificence, but had no sooner retired, than he divided his share among his companions. The King hearing of this circumstance, asked him the cause; and Eibuk kissing the earth, replied, that all his wants were so amply supplied by his Majesty's bounty, that he had no desire of burdening himself with superfluities, provided he retained his sovereign's favour. This answer so pleased the King, that he

* There is a town, also, of the same name, on the high road from Bulkh to Ghoor, equi-distant from those two places.

immediately gave him an office near his person, and shortly after appointed him master of the horse.

In one of the expeditions against the King of Khwaruzm, to expel that prince from Khorassan, Eibuk commanded a foraging party on the banks of the Moorghab. Here he was surrounded by a body of the enemy, and though he did the utmost to save his detachment, he was, after the loss of most of his men, taken prisoner, and carried to the King of Khwaruzm, who put him in irons. That monarch being defeated a few days after, Eibuk was discovered sitting on a camel on the field, and being carried to his old master; he was received with great kindness.

In the year 588, when Mahomed Ghoory took revenge of his enemies the Hindoos, he appointed Eibuk, now dignified with the title of Kootb-ood-Deen *, to the chief command of the army left to protect his conquests. In discharge of this duty he took possession of many districts around, and reduced the fort of Merut; he also laid siege to Dehly; but the enemy, finding their own numbers far exceeded the besiegers, marched out of the place, and gave battle. The conflict was sanguinary on both sides; the river Jumna was discoloured with blood: the Rajpoots were at length defeated, and retired within their walls, and the garrison after a long siege, was at last reduced to surrender. In the year 589, Jeewun Ray, a general of the Raja of Nehrwala, in Guzerat, ad-

* Pole star of the faithful.

vanced with an army to besiege Hansy. Kootb-ood-Deen marched with his forces to relieve it, compelled him to raise the siege, and pursued the Guzeraties to their own frontier. In the year following he crossed the Jumna, and took the fort of Kole by assault, wherein he found a thousand fine horses, and much spoil; and being informed of Mahomed Ghoory's approach towards Kunowj, he proceeded as far as Pishawur to meet him, and presented him with a hundred fine horses, besides two elephants, the one loaded with gold and the other with silver. At Pishawur, he mustered before the King 50,000 horse, and being honoured with a dress, was preferred to the command of the advance of the royal army.

He commanded that division when it defeated the Raja of Benares, who, on seeing his army retreat, urged on his elephant in despair. Kootb-ood-Deen, who excelled in archery, came in contact with Raja Jye-chund, and with his own hand shot the arrow which, piercing his eye, cost the Raja his life.

The number of slain on this day was so great, that it was long ere the body of the Raja could be found by his friends, who were permitted to search for it; till at length his corpse was recognised by his artificial teeth*, which were fixed in by golden wires. Mahomed Ghoory, following with the body of the army into the city of Benares, took possession of the country as far as the boundaries of

* This is a great proof of the progress luxury had made in India at that period.

Bengal, without opposition, and having destroyed all the idols, loaded four thousand camels with spoils. Kootb-ood-Deen on this occasion presented the King with above three hundred elephants taken from the Raja of Benares.

The drivers, on a signal given, made the elephants bow down when brought before the King, excepting one white elephant which refused. This animal was reckoned a great curiosity, and though extremely tractable at other times, had on this occasion almost killed his rider, when he endeavoured to force him to make his obeisance.

The King, when leaving India, sent the white elephant back, as a present to Kootb-ood-Deen, styling him son in his letter. Kootb-ood-Deen ever afterwards rode this animal; and at his death the elephant is said to have pined away with visible sorrow, and to have expired on the third day. This was the only white elephant of which I have heard in Hindoostan, though it is said, that the King of Pegu* has always two white elephants, and that when one dies, orders are issued to search the woods for another to supply his place. Kootb-ood-Deen, after the departure of the King, remained some days at Asny, where the Raja's treasure was found; thence returning to Dehly, he received advices that Hemraj, the cousin of the discomfited Prince of Ajmeer, issuing from the mountains of Alwur, had driven Gola Ray, the reigning Prince, towards Runtunbhore, and that

* See a description of white elephants in Siam, in Finlayson's Mission to Siam and Hue, p. 151.

Hemraj's General, Chutr-Ray, was moving with another army towards Dehly. Kootb-ood-Deen marched to oppose him; and separating twenty thousand horse from the rest of his army, engaged the enemy, and put them to flight. Some days after, however, having collected their scattered troops, they retreated in good order towards Ajmeer, pursued during the whole way by the Mahomedans. Hemraj being joined by his General gained confidence and gave battle; but in spite of his own exertions on this occasion he was slain and his army routed. Thus Ajmeer was restored to the Mahomedan government, and was afterwards ruled by its laws.

A. H. 591. A. D. 1194. In the year 591, Kootb-ood-Deen marched towards Nehrwala, the capital of Guzerat. Jeewun Ray, the General of Bheem Dew, who was encamped under the walls, fled at his approach; but on being closely pursued, he drew up his army, and fought till he lost his life, when his army resumed its flight. Bheem Dew, hearing of this defeat, fled from his dominions; and Kootb-ood-Deen having ravaged the country at leisure obtained much booty. He marched from thence to the fort of Hansy, which he repaired, and having visited Kohram returned to Dehly.

Meanwhile advices reached him from the governor of the districts near Runtunbhore, that the brother of Gola Ray of Ajmeer, who lived in the hills, threatened to invade his territories. This news induced Kootb-ood-Deen to move to his relief, on which the enemy retired; and Kootb-

ood-Deen paid a visit to Gola Ray, who entertained him magnificently, and at his departure, presented him with some fine jewels, and two tents of gold tissue. He soon after returned to Dehly; and it is related in the Taj-ool-Maasir, a work dedicated to Kootb-ood-Deen, that he wrote to the King a particular account of his conquests, which so pleased his sovereign, Mahomed Ghoory, that he ordered his attendance at Ghizny, for which place he set out, and was received with every demonstration of joy and respect. Kootb-ood-Deen, some time after, having obtained permission to return to his government, espoused the daughter of Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, governor of Kirman in Pishawur, and celebrated the marriage-festival with great splendour after his arrival at Dehly. He soon after engaged in the siege of the fort of Byana; but hearing that the King his master had taken the route of Hindoostan, Kootb-ood-Deen went as far as Hánsy to meet him. Both now returned to Byana; which place was taken. Mahomed Ghoory gave charge of it to Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul, one of his trusty slaves, and then proceeded to Gualiar, where the Raja, having agreed to pay tribute, purchased the forbearance of the King for the time with a considerable sum of money and jewels.

Immediately after these transactions Mahomed Ghoory returned to Ghizny, leaving Kootb-ood-Deen as before, viceroy of all the conquered provinces of India.

At this time news arrived that the Raja of Nagoor and many other Hindoo rajás had entered

into an alliance with the Meres, a race of people in that country, and, together with the Raja of Nehrwala, had formed a design to wrest Ajmeer from the Mahomedans. The army of Kootb-ood-Deen being dispersed over his provinces, he was forced to march in person against these confederates with the few troops present in Dehly, in order to prevent, if possible, the junction of the forces of Nehrwala; but he was defeated. After having been frequently dismounted in the action, and having received six wounds, he still fought with his wonted courage, till being forced at length by his attendants off the field, he was carried in a litter to Ajmeer.

The Meres, rejoicing at this victory, now formed a junction with the forces of Guzerat, and sat down before Ajmeer. Intelligence of this event coming to the ears of the King, he sent a strong reinforcement from Ghizny to the relief of Kootb-ood-Deen. Ajmeer held out till the arrival of the succours, and the enemy raised the siege. Kootb-ood-Deen having recovered from his wounds pursued the besieging army to Nehrwala, taking in his way the forts of Baly and Nadole. He there received advices that Wallin* and Darabarz, in alliance with the Raja of Nehrwala, were encamped near the fort of Abooghur, in the province of Sirohy, to defend the passes into Guzerat. Kootb-ood-Deen, notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, and the disad-

A. H. 593.
A. D. 1196.

* I have been unable to determine the first of these names; the latter, according to Colonel Tod, was the last of the Powar dynasty of Abooghur.

vantages of ground, attacked them; and on this occasion above fifty thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen on the field, besides twenty thousand who were taken prisoners. Vast spoils also fell into the hands of the victors. Having given his army some rest, Kootb-ood-Deen pursued his route into Guzerat, ravaged that country without further opposition, and took the city of Nehrwala, where he left an officer with a strong garrison. He now returned to Dehly by the way of Ajmeer, and sent a large quantity of jewels and gold, and also many slaves, to the King at Ghizny, and divided the remainder of the spoils among his fellow-soldiers.

A. H. 599. A. D. 1202. In the year 599, he mustered his forces, and marched against Kalunjur, where he was opposed by the Raja of that country, whom he defeated; then, dismounting his cavalry, he laid siege to the fort. The Raja, seeing himself hard pressed, offered Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk the same tribute and presents which his ancestors had formerly paid to Sooltan Mahmood. The proposal was accepted; but the Raja's minister, who resolved to hold out without coming to terms, caused his master to be assassinated, while the presents were preparing. The Hindoo flag being again hoisted on the fort, the siege recommenced, but the place was eventually reduced, owing to the drying up of a spring upon the hill which supplied the garrison with water. The plunder of Kalunjur was great in gold and jewels.

Kootb-ood-Deen now marched to Mahoba, the capital of the principality of Kalpy, which

place he also subdued, together with Budaoon, lying between the rivers Jumna and Ganges. Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy, who had been appointed governor of Behar by the King, but had for some time back paid little attention to the royal commands, came at this time to pay a visit to Kootb-ood-Deen, conciliating him with rich presents.

At the time when Mahomed Ghoory, after his defeat in Toorkistan, returned to India, he was joined by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, and Shums-ood-Altmish, another of his slaves, by whose valour and fidelity he defeated the Gukkurs in several actions, and recovered Lahore from them. Matters being thus peaceably settled, Kootb-ood-Deen returned to his government, and the King was retiring towards Ghizny, when he was assassinated by the Gukkurs. Mahmood, his nephew, assumed the royal titles at Ghoor, and, on his accession, sent all the insignia of royalty, a throne, a canopy, standards, drums, and the title of King, to Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, desirous of securing his interest, and being by no means able to oppose his power, if he refused to acknowledge him. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk received these marks of favour with becoming respect at Lahore, where he ascended the throne on the 18th of Zeekad, A. H. 602. He returned from thence in a few days to Dehly.

Zeekad 18. A. H. 602. July 24. A. D. 1205.

Meanwhile Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz marched an army from Ghizny, with an intention to take Lahore, which he effected by the treachery of the governor, whom he afterwards expelled. Kootb-

ood-Deen hearing of this event, disputed his right, and in the year 603 a war ensued between these chiefs. At length Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz was expelled the city, and obliged to fly towards Kirman and Shivuran; Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk pursued him as far as Ghizny, in which city he was again crowned, taking that kingdom also into his own hands.

A. H. 603. A. D. 1205.

Kootb-ood-Deen, after this, unaccountably gave himself up to wine and pleasure, till the citizens of Ghizny, disgusted with his conduct, sent privately to Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, acquainting him with the King's negligence, and entreating his return. Taj-ood-Deen raised troops with great secrecy and expedition, advanced towards Ghizny, and surprised Kootb-ood-Deen, who had no intelligence of his design till the day before his arrival. It was now too late to attempt a defence, so that he was compelled to abandon Ghizny and to retire to Lahore. Kootb-ood-Deen now became sensible of his folly, and repented: after which he continued to exercise justice, temperance, and morality; and his kingdom was governed by the best laws till his death, which happened in the year 607, by a fall from his horse, in a match at chowgan. *

A. H. 607. A. D. 1210.

* The game of chowgan, like our foot-ball, consists in two opposite parties endeavouring to propel a ball beyond certain bounds. The parties in this game, however, are on horseback, and the players use bats, like our rackets, to strike the ball. The game was, it is supposed, introduced into Southern Asia by the Tartars; but it is lost in India, and is, I believe, now never played even in Persia.

His reign, properly speaking, lasted only four years, though he enjoyed all the state and dignities of a king for upwards of twenty, if we reckon from the period of the capture of Dehly, when he may be said to have become King of India, though he assumed only the title of Commander-in-Chief of his patron Mahomed Ghoory. He was certainly a great captain, and might be classed among the greatest men in history, had not his licentious conduct at Ghizny tarnished the glory of his life. He was famous throughout the East for his generosity, for which he obtained the surname of Lakbukhsh, "Bestower of Laks." When a man is praised for generosity in India, they say to this day, "He is as liberal as Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk."

LIFE OF TAJ-OOD-DEEN YELDOOZ.

MAHOMED GHOORY having no children excepting one daughter, took pleasure in educating Toorky slaves, whom he afterwards adopted. Four of those slaves, besides Kootb-ood-Deen, became great princes, of whom Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz was one. The King having observed him to be a youth of merit, advanced him gradually, till he conferred on him the government of the provinces of Kirman and Shivuran, which lie between Ghizny and India. His situation gave him an opportunity of frequently entertaining his prince, during his expeditions to and from the latter country, which he always did with great magnificence, making presents to all the King's attendants.

Mahomed Ghoory, in his last expedition to India, conferred on Taj-ood-Deen the privilege of carrying the black standard of Ghizny, an honour which was usually confined to the heir apparent. On the death of that monarch, the Toorky officers espoused the cause of the Prince Mahmood, the son of Gheias-ood-Deen; but Mahmood being unambitious, and naturally indolent, declined the additional cares of the Ghizny government, and remained satisfied with the throne of his ancestors at Ghoor; he, however, assumed the imperial title, and proclaimed Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz King of Ghizny, content to receive homage from that chief.

The first act of Taj-ood-Deen, after his accession, was the invasion of the Punjab, and the seizure of Lahore, as we have seen in the former reign, on which occasion, being defeated by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, he lost his kingdom, which he, however, soon after regained. At length, in conjunction with the King Mahmood of Ghoor, he sent an army to Herat, which he reduced, as also great part of Seestan. Mahmood also engaged in war with Mahomed Shah, King of Khwaruzm. Mahomed Shah, following up his successes, took Ghizny, and compelled Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz to retire to Kirman. Yeldooz, finding the northern hordes an overmatch for him, recruited his army, and marched, some time after the death of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, with a view to conquer India. After reducing a few of the northern districts, he was defeated near Dehly by Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, and being taken prisoner, died in confinement. The whole length of his reign was nine years. As we have already

given the history of two of Mahomed Ghoory's adopted slaves, who assumed the title of King, it may not be improper here to say something of Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul, who raised himself from the same low situation. Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul was a chief of some repute in the service of Mahomed Ghoory. When the fort of Byana was taken, the command of it was given to Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul, and the King proceeded himself to Gualiar, as we have seen before. But after he left Hindoostan, Toghrul continued to infest the country about Gualiar, having been assured by the King at his departure, that if he conquered the place, he would confirm him in its government.

Seeing that all his efforts were unavailing, owing to the garrison finding means of obtaining supplies, he ordered small forts to be built all round, in which he placed garrisons, and by this means effectually blockaded the hills. It held out, however, nearly a whole year; when, being distressed for provisions, the Raja sent a deputation privately to Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk to come and take possession of the place, rather than deliver it into the hands of Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk accordingly sent his troops to occupy Gualiar, a circumstance which had nearly produced a war between the two chiefs. Death, however, terminated the feud, for at this moment, Toghrul suddenly expired. The actions of the other two princes, formerly slaves of Mahomed Ghoory, will be found in the histories of Sind and Bengal, to which they more properly belong.

ARAM

Succeeds his father on the throne at Dehly. — Dissensions in the state. — Mooltan and Oocha taken and occupied by Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha. — Bengal usurped by Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy. — Imbecility of Aram apparent. — A deputation from the nobles wait on Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, the son-in-law of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, inviting him to ascend the throne. — Aram opposes Altmish, but is defeated, and loses his kingdom.

After the death of Kootb-ood-Deen, his son Aram ascended the throne of Dehly, though he was ill adapted to govern such an empire. Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, one of the adopted slaves of Mahomed Ghoory, marched with an army towards Sind, which he conquered, as also Mooltan, Oocha, Shivuran, and other places. Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy, another of the slaves of Mahomed Ghoory, having possessed himself of Bengal, asserted his independence; and at the same time other dependent chiefs threw off their allegiance in many parts of the empire.

In this state of affairs, Ameer Ally Ismael, and Ameer Daood Delimy, together with other nobles at Dehly, becoming discontented, sent a deputation to Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, the son-in-law and adopted son of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk (then governor of Budaoon), inviting him to ascend the throne. Shums-ood-Deen, without hesitation,

marched his army to Dehly, and by the assistance of his party met with a cordial reception.

Aram, fearful of trusting himself in his capital, had previously withdrawn into the country, and having recruited a fine army, advanced and gave battle to Shums-ood-Deen Altmish within sight of the city, in which Aram lost the victory, and with it his kingdom, which he enjoyed scarcely one year.

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN ALTMISH:

His origin — espouses the daughter of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk — is created general-in-chief of the King's army — deposes his brother-in-law Aram, and ascends the throne. — Dissensions in the state. — The Toorky cavalry quit him, and sometime after march to Dehly to dethrone him. — The Toorks are defeated. — Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, being expelled from Ghizny by the troops of Khwaruzm Shah, occupies Punjab, and even seizes on Tahneswur — is defeated by Altmish, and taken — dies in prison. — Altmish defeats Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha of Mooltan, in two actions in Punjab — proceeds to Bengal, and establishes his authority over Gheias-ood-Deen, the son of Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy — leaves his son Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood in Behar. — The latter defeats and kills Gheias-ood-Deen Bukhtyar in battle, and secures the occupation of Bengal. — Shums-ood-Deen Altmish proceeds to Mooltan — expels Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, and leaves his minister, Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy, in charge. — Shums-ood-Deen reduces Runtunbhore, Mando, and all Malwa. — An embassy from the Caliph arrives at Dehly. — Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, the King's eldest son, dies in Bengal. — The title and territory conferred on the King's youngest son. — The King retakes Gualiar, which had fallen into the hands of the Hindoos — takes Bhilsa and Oojein — proceeds towards Mooltan — is taken ill on the road — returns to Dehly — his death.

It is related in the Tubkat Nasiry, that Shums-ood-Deen Altmish was a descendant, on his mother's side, from a noble family of Khutta, and that his father was of the tribe of Albery, and was called Eelum Khan. In his youth he was the favourite of his father, and being envied by the

rest of his brothers, they determined to get rid of him. One day while hunting, they stripped him, and sold him to a company of travelling merchants. The merchants carried him to Bokhara, and sold him to one of the relations of Sudr-i-Jehan, prince of that country, under whom he received a liberal education. On the death of his master he was again exposed to sale, and purchased by a merchant, who sold him again to another, who carried him to Ghizny.

Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory heard at Ghizny of Altmish's beauty and talents, but could not agree with the merchant about his price. He was therefore carried back to Bokhara, as none durst buy him on account of the King's displeasure, till Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, obtaining the King's permission, purchased him at Dehly, whither he had invited the merchants, for 50,000 pieces of silver. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, also, at the same time, bought another slave, whom he called Toghan, He was afterwards appointed governor of Surhind. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk had three daughters, the eldest of whom was married to Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, the second to Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, and upon the death of the eldest, Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha was allowed to marry her sister, the youngest daughter.

Altmish, as the son-in-law of his master, rose in rank till he was created general-in-chief; and, upon the death of Eibuk, as we have before related, he advanced against the capital, expelled Aram from the throne in the year 607, and declared himself King with the title of Shums-ood-

Deen Altmish. On his accession he was acknowledged by many chiefs and princes; but some of his generals taking offence, went off with the greater part of his Toorky horse, the flower of his army. These, connecting themselves with other malecontents in the districts, advanced with a great force towards Dehly, where they were opposed by Altmish, and defeated. Their chief, Furokh, was slain in the field, and the rest were so closely pursued, that in a short time they were all either killed or taken, which established Altmish on the throne.

Soon after this event, Oodye-Sa, the tributary raja of Jalwur, having refused to make the usual payments, the King was induced to march and reduce him to obedience. Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, at this time king of Ghizny, sent to Altmish the ensigns of royalty, pretending to confirm him in the government of India; but soon after, when Yeldooz was himself defeated by the troops of Khwaruzm Shah, and retired to Kirman and Shivuran, he turned his views towards the conquest of the East. In the first instance he seized the country of Punjab, and occupied the city of Tahneswur in the year 612, where he endeavoured by his emissaries at the court of Dehly to raise a faction in his favour. Shums-ood-Deen Altmish meanwhile collected his troops, and advanced towards him. An action took place on the plains of Narain; Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz was defeated, and with many of his officers taken prisoner and imprisoned in Budaoon, where, according to some accounts, he

A. H. 612.
A. D. 1215.

died a natural death, but according to others, he was poisoned.

A. H. 614. A. D. 1217. In the year 614, Altmish attacked Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, his brother-in-law, at Munsooreea, on the banks of the Chunab, and gained a complete victory. During the following year several chiefs of the tribe of Khilluj inhabiting the country near Ghizny, being defeated by Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, fled for protection to Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, who espousing their cause, marched against Nasir-ood-Deen, and a second time overthrew him, and recovered the countries lost by the chiefs of Khilluj, after which he returned to Dehly. In

A. H. 618. A. D. 1221. the year 618, the famous but unfortunate Julal-ood-Deen Khwaruzm Shah, being defeated in the north by Chungiz Khan, retreated towards Lahore, where Altmish opposed and compelled him to retreat towards Sind and Sewustan. Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud and some other historians have placed the arrival of Julal-ood-Deen in Hindoostan subsequently to the death of Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha; but their testimony in this particular does not seem to me to merit attention.

A. H. 622. A. D. 1225. In the year 622, Shums-ood-Deen led his army towards Behar, and Luknowty*, where he exacted tribute from Gheias-ood-Deen Bukhtyar Khiljy, then Prince of Bengal, whose history we shall give in its proper place.

* This is another name for the city of Goor, the site of which is laid down in all the maps near Raj Mahal, on the Ganges.

He caused the Bengal currency to be struck in his own name, and, appointing his son Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood to the government of Behar, returned to Dehly. But soon after war having broken out between Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, Prince of Behar, and Gheias-ood-Deen Bukhtyar, Khiljy of Bengal, the latter was defeated and slain; and Nasir-ood-Deen took possession of his principality and his treasure, out of which he sent ample presents to his friends at Dehly.

According to the most authentic historians it was in this year (622) that Shums-ood-Deen Altmish marched against Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, who possessed the provinces on the Indus, and who, unable to oppose him in the field, left a strong garrison in Oocha, and retired to Bukkur. Altmish detached Nizam-ool-Moolk* Jooneidy, his vizier, with half of the army, in pursuit of Nazir-ood-Deen Koobacha, while with the other half he himself laid siege to Oocha, which he reduced in two months and twenty days. When the news of the fall of Oocha reached Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, he sent his son Alla-ood-Deen Beiram to sue for peace. The terms were not settled, when information arrived, that Nasir-ood-Deen had been compelled by Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy to attempt to cross the river, in which he

* It is worthy of remark, that this is the first vizier in Hindoostan who received the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk. It appears to have been very generally adopted afterwards; and we find the descendant of the last Nizam-ool-Moolk now on the musnud of Hyderabad.

was drowned; after which, the whole country submitted to Altmish.

A. H. 623. A. D. 1226. In the year 623, Altmish reduced the fort of Runtunbhore, and in the year

A. H. 624. A. D. 1227. 624, that of Mando, and the country of Malwa. At this time Ameer Roohany, the most learned poet and philosopher of his age, fled from Bokhara, after that city was taken by Chungiz Khan, and sought protection at Dehly, where he wrote many excellent poems.

A. H. 626. A. D. 1229. In the year 626, an embassy from Arabia, bringing with it royal robes from the Caliph, arrived at Dehly. The King assumed them with joy, and made a great festival, distributing rich presents. In the same year he received intelligence of the death of his eldest son Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, Prince of Bengal. Altmish conferred the same title on his younger son, whom he carried with him to that province

A. H. 627. A. D. 1230. in the year 627, and invested him with the government, which had fallen into confusion subsequently to the death of the former prince. Having entirely settled this country, he left Eiz-ool-Moolk Alla-ood-Deen Khany to superintend its management, and returned with his son to Dehly.

A. H. 629. A. D. 1231. Shums-ood-Deen Altmish formed a design, in the year 629, to reduce the fort of Gualiar, which had, during the short reign of his predecessor Aram, again fallen into the hands of the Hindoos. Having accordingly besieged it for a whole year, and the garrison being greatly straitened, the Raja Dewbul made

his escape in the night, and the garrison capitulated; above three hundred of whom were put to death. Mullik Taj-ood-Deen Zoobery, who was present at the capture, has commemorated the date of the transaction by four lines carved on a stone over one of the gateways. *

After the reduction of Gualiar, the King marched his army towards Malwa, reduced the fort of Bhilsa, and took the city of Oojein, where he destroyed a magnificent temple dedicated to Mahakaly, formed upon the same plan with that of Somnat. This temple is said to have occupied three hundred years in building, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits in height. The image of Vikramaditya, who had been formerly prince of this country, and so renowned, that the Hindoos have taken an æra from his death, as also the image of Mahakaly, both of stone, with many other figures of brass, were found in the temple. These images the King caused to be conveyed to Dehly, and broken at the door of the great mosque.

After his return from this expedition, Altmish marched his army towards Mooltan; but falling sick on the road, he was obliged to return to Dehly, where he died on the 20th of Shaban, in the year 633. His vizier, towards the latter end of his reign, was Fukhr-ool-Moolk Assamy, who had been formerly vizier of the Caliph of Bagdad for thirty years, where he was much esteemed on account of his

Shaban 20. A. H. 633. April 30. A. D. 1236.

* The stone and the lines are still to be seen.

wisdom and learning. He left that court on account of some offence, and came to Dehly, where he was appointed prime minister. Noor-ood-Deen Mahomed Oofy, the author of the Jama-ool-Hikayat (a collection of *historical anecdotes* *), lived during this time at the court of Dehly. The reign of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish lasted twenty-six years. He was an enterprising, able, and good prince.

* This work is a collection of stories illustrative of the virtues, vices, and calamities of mankind, but possessing no real value in point of authenticity.

ROOKN-OOD-DEEN FEROZE

Ascends the throne — his dissipated and licentious character — permits his mother to exercise great cruelty. — She murders the widows of the late king, and one of his sons. — Distracted condition of the court. — Pretenders to the throne. — Confederacy of the great chiefs of the kingdom against the King — they assemble forces at Lahore. — The King marches to oppose them — reaches Munsoorpoor, where he is deserted by seven of his generals, who raise Ruzeea Begum, the King's sister, to the throne at Dehly. — The King returns to his capital, but is seized by his officers, and delivered over to the new government.

It appears from the histories of the times, that in the year 625 Shums-ood-Deen Altmish appointed his son, Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, governor of Budaoon, and, after the reduction of Gualiar, created him his lieutanant in the Punjab. When his father died, this prince happened to be at Dehly, and ascended the throne, without opposition, on Tuesday the 21st Shaban, in the year 633; on which occasion the nobles made their offerings, and swore allegiance, while the poets of the age vied with each other in his praise. But no sooner was the ceremony over than he abandoned himself to licentious excesses, and neglected the affairs of his government.

Shaban 21. A. H. 633. May 1. A. D. 1236.

He lavished his father's treasures on dancing women, comedians, and musicians, leaving the

conduct of all public business to his mother, Shah Toorkan. This woman, originally a Toorky slave, was a monster of cruelty. She murdered not only all the women of Shums-ood-Deen's harem, to gratify her hatred, but also put to death Kootb-ood-Deen, the youngest of that king's sons. The minds of the people revolted at these scenes. Gheias-ood-Deen Mahomed, the King's younger brother, governor of Oude, intercepted the revenues from Bengal on their way to the capital, and declared himself independent. At the same time, also, Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Salar, the governor of Budaoon, Mullik Alla-ood-Deen Khany, governor of Lahore, Mullik Kubeer Khan, viceroy of Mooltan, and Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Koochy, governor of Hansy, entered into a confederacy, which broke out into open rebellion. Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, collecting his troops, marched to Kelookery, but was there deserted by his vizier, Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy, and by part of his army. The vizier went towards Kole, where he joined Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Salar, governor of Budaoon, and they proceeded together to Lahore, at which place they formed a junction with the nobles of the northern and western provinces. The King, mean time, marched towards the confederates; but on reaching Munsoorpoor, seven of his principal chiefs, viz. Taj-ood-Deen Zobeidy, Mullik Mahomed Dubeer, Baha-ood-Deen Hussun, Mullik Kureem-ood-Deen Zeea-ool-Moolk, Sheer Khan, Khwaja Rusheed, and Ameer Fukhr-ood-Deen deserted him, and retired with their followers to Dehly. There they raised Sooltana Ruzeea Begum, the

eldest daughter of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, to the throne, and imprisoned the King's mother. When this news reached the King, he returned hastily with his army towards Dehly, and having arrived at Kelookery, Sooltana Ruzeea Begum on the 18th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year 634, advanced with a force against him. Rookn-ood-Deen was delivered up into her hands, and died in confinement some time after; so that he reigned only six months and twenty-eight days.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 18. A. H. 634. Nov. 19. A. D. 1236.

SOOLTANA RUZEEA BEGUM.

Character of the Queen — her qualifications to reign superior to those of her brothers. — The confederated army at Lahore marches against the Queen — her conduct on this occasion. — Sows dissensions among the confederates — they begin to suspect each other, and separate — are attacked by the Queen's forces — many of the chiefs overtaken and executed. — Khwaja Mehdy created minister, with the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk. — Territorial limits — Punjab — Sind — Bengal. — The Queen confers on Jumal-ood-Deen Yakoot, an Abyssinian officer, the dignity of Ameer-ool-Omra, chief of the nobles. — Familiarity between the Queen and Yakoot. — Jealousy of the chieftains. — The governor of Lahore raises troops. — The Queen marches to oppose him. — He submits and is pardoned. — Mullik Altoonia, governor of Bituhnda, revolts. — The Queen proceeds to put down the insurrection. — The Toorky chiefs mutiny. — The favourite is slain, and the Queen delivered into the hands of her enemy, Mullik Altoonia. — The Toorky officers return with the army to Dehly, and raise the Queen's brother Beiram to the throne. — The Queen prevails on Mullik Altoonia to marry her, and defend her rights — they march towards Dehly, but are defeated by the new King's forces. — The Queen and Mullik Altoonia again in the field — are defeated at Keituhl, by Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, and are both seized by the inhabitants of the country, and put to death. — Reflections, by the author, on the fate of Sooltana Ruzeea Begum.

RUZEEA BEGUM was possessed of every good quality which usually adorns the ablest princes; and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman. She read the Koran with correct pronunciation,

and in her father's lifetime employed herself frequently in the affairs of the government; a disposition which he rather encouraged in her than otherwise, so that during the campaign in which he was engaged in the siege of Gualiar, he appointed her regent during his absence. When asked by his officers, why he appointed his daughter in preference to any of his sons, he replied, that he saw his sons gave themselves up to wine and every other excess, so that he thought the government too weighty for their shoulders; but that Ruzeea Begum, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons. Ruzeea Begum, on her accession, changed her apparel, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave public audience from the throne, revising and confirming the laws of her father, which had been abrogated in the last short reign, and dispensing justice with impartiality.

The confederates, consisting of the Vizier Nizam-ood-Moolk Jooneidy, Mullik Alla-ood-Deen Khany, Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Koochy, Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Salar, and Mullik Kubeer Khan, who had united their forces at Lahore, now advanced to Dehly, and, encamping without the city, commenced hostilities. They at the same time sent letters to all the officers of the empire, inviting them to join their party. This news reaching Mullik Nuseer, Jageerdar of Oude, he raised troops, and hastened to the support of the Queen; but on crossing the Ganges, being attacked by the confederates, he was defeated and taken prisoner, in which condition he soon after died, from old age

and infirmity. The Queen, meanwhile, was busily engaged in sowing dissension among the rebel chiefs, and with such success, that, distrusting each other, they shortly after broke up their camp, each retreating to his own government. The Queen's troops, availing themselves of this event, pursued them. Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Koochy and his brother were taken and put to death. Mullik Alla-ood-Deen Khany was slain near Babool, and his head brought to Dehly, but the Vizier Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy contrived to escape to the Surmore hills, where he died.

The Queen now conferred the vizarut on Khwaja Mehdy Ghiznevy, deputy to the former vizier, with the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk, and gave the chief command of her forces to Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Eibuk, with the title of Kootloogh Khan. Kubeer Khan, having submitted to her authority, was allowed to resume the government of Lahore, while the countries of Luknowty on the south-east, and of Debul and Sind on the south-west, were also confirmed to their respective lieutenants, on promise of future obedience.

Kootloogh Khan, General of the Queen's armies, soon after died; and Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun, being appointed to succeed him, was sent with a force to relieve the fort of Runtunbhore then invested by some independent Indian princes, who, at the approach of the royal forces, raised the siege, and retreated. After Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun's departure from Runtunbhore, Mullik Yekhtyar-ood-Deen Aluptugeen was created Ameer Hajib, and Jumal-ood-Deen Yakoot, an Abyssinian,

who was in great favour, was raised from the office of master of the horse, to that of Ameer-ool-Omra. * The nobles, highly offended at this proceeding, were disposed to examine narrowly the cause of so much favour. A very great degree of familiarity was observed to exist between the Abyssinian and the Queen; so much so, that when she rode he always lifted her on her horse by raising her up under the arms. This intimacy, the great favour which he had suddenly attained, and his rapid elevation to the first rank in the realm, might naturally have excited envy had it happened to any individual; but it became the more mortifying, when the favourite was merely an Abyssinian slave.

The first person who began openly to evince these feelings was Mullik Kubeer Khan, viceroy of Lahore, who in the year 637 cast off his allegiance, and increased his army. The Queen, collecting her forces, marched against him; and the viceroy being deserted by some of his colleagues, was obliged to make concessions, by which he obtained pardon. He conducted himself with so much art on this occasion, that the Queen, on her departure, either believing him sincere, or desirous of binding him to her interest by gratitude, not only permitted him to retain his office as governor of Lahore, but added to it that of Mooltan, which had been lately vacated by the removal of Mullik Kurra-gooz.

A.H. 637. A.D. 1239.

In the same year, Mullik Altoonia (of the Toorky

* Chief of the nobles. This was the highest station next to princes of the blood.

tribe of Chelgany), governor of Bituhnda, revolted, on the plea of the Queen's partiality to the Abyssinian. On hearing this intelligence, she marched towards Bituhnda; but about half way, all the Toorky chiefs in her army mutinied. A tumultuous conflict ensued, in which the Abyssinian favourite was killed; and the Queen being taken, was sent to the fort of Bituhnda, to Mullik Altoonia.

The army now returned to Dehly, where the Toorky officers elevated her brother, the Prince Beiram, a son of the late Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, to the throne. Meanwhile Mullik Altoonia having espoused the empress, was enabled, in a short time, through her influence, to raise an army, composed of Gukkurs, Juts, and others of the neighbouring tribes, which was also joined by many officers of distinction, with whom they marched towards Dehly. Beiram, the new king, sent Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun (afterwards called Aluf-Khan), son-in-law of the late Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, with his forces to oppose the Queen. The two armies met near Dehly: an obstinate conflict ensued, in which the Queen was defeated, and fled to Bituhnda. She some time after re-assembled her scattered forces, and was in a condition to make another bold effort for the crown, and advanced towards Dehly. Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, who was again sent to oppose her, gave the Queen's army a second defeat at Keituhl, on the 4th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the same year. She and her husband were seized by the Zemeendars in their flight, and

Rubbee-ool-Awul 4. A. H. 637. October 24. A. D. 1239.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 25. November 14. were both put to death on the 25th of the same month. One author relates, that they were carried bound to Beiram, who ordered them to be assassinated in prison. The reign of Sooltana Ruzeea Begum lasted three years, six months, and six days.

Those who reflect on the fate of this unfortunate princess will readily discover from whence arose the foul blast that blighted all her prospects:—What connection exists between the office of Ameer-ool-Omra of Dehly and an Abyssinian slave; or how are we to reconcile the inconsistency of the queen of a vast territory fixing her affections on so unworthy an object?

MOIZ-OOD-DEEN BEIRAM

Ascends the throne. — Yekhtiyar-ood-Deen Aluptugeen and Khwaja Mehdy assume great power. — The King endeavours to procure their assassination in open court. — Aluptugeen is killed.—Khwaja Mehdy escapes with several wounds.—A conspiracy against the King's life, discovered by himself. — The persons concerned gradually removed from court, and assassinated on their own estates, according to secret orders from the King. — Invasion of Punjab by the Moguls of Chungiz Khan. — Lahore besieged. — The minister sent with an army to oppose the invaders — measures adopted by him to seduce the army from their allegiance. — The army, under the minister, marches to Dehly to dethrone the King. — The citizens deliver the King over to his enemies — suffers death.

WHEN Sooltana Ruzeea Begum was confined in the fort of Bituhnda, her brother Beiram, one of the sons of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, ascended the throne on Monday the 27th of Rumzan, in the year 637. Yekhtyar-ood-Deen Aluptugeen, with the assistance of Khwaja Mehdy Ghiznevy, having espoused the King's sister, widow of the late Kazy Yekhtyar-ood-Deen, by degrees got the entire government into his own hands. He also maintained an elephant* at his gate, a

Monday, Rumzan 27. A. H. 637. April 21. A. D. 1240.

* At this period, I conclude, elephants were considered exclusively royal animals. Lieutenants of provinces were allowed them in their government, but in the royal camp they used all to be sent to the monarch. This practice of reserving elephants for the use of rulers still prevails in Siam.

piece of state reserved solely for royalty. This circumstance having excited much jealousy in the King's mind, he employed two Toorky slaves to feign drunkenness, and in that state to endeavour to assassinate both Aluptugeen and the Vizier. Accordingly, on a certain day, these Toorks, while the King was giving public audience, having pressed into the crowd, became very troublesome. Aluptugeen, who stood first in the rank of nobles, went to turn them out, but they drew their daggers, and first plunging them into his breast, ran to the Vizier, on whom, also, they inflicted two severe stabs; but he escaped through the crowd, without being mortally wounded. The slaves were immediately seized and cast into chains, but shortly after were pardoned and released.

The Vizier kept his bed for some days, on account of his wounds; but as soon as he recovered, he appeared again at court, as if nothing had happened. Budr-ood-Deen Sufeer Roomy, master of requests, formed a scheme to depose the King, and for this purpose, connected himself with a powerful faction at court. The conspirators met together at the house of Taj-ood-Deen Kotwal, on Monday, 17th Suffer. Taj-ood-Deen, however, relenting, informed both the King and the Vizier of the whole affair. A faithful servant of the King, assuming the character of a madman, was allowed to overhear the conversation that took place at the meeting. The Vizier, although he secretly favoured the conspiracy, excused himself from attending the consultations.

Suffer 17. A. H. 638. Sept. 8. A. D. 1240.

The story of the kotwal being confirmed by the person whom the King sent to overhear the conspirators, a body of cavalry was despatched to surround the house and seize them; but they, having obtained previous intelligence, dispersed before the horse arrived. The next day, Budr-ood-Deen Sufeer, one of the principals, was made governor of Budaoon, while another, Kazy Julal-ood-Deen Kashany, was removed from office. In a few months after, Budr-ood-Deen and Taj-ood-Deen were both assassinated by the King's emissaries, and Kazy Shums-ood-Deen, who was also engaged in the plot, was trodden under foot by elephants. These proceedings, without trial or public accusation, justly alarmed every one; and advantage being taken by the faction of this feeling, a mutiny was promoted among the troops, and secretly fomented by the Vizier Khwaja Mehdy, who had not forgotten the attempt lately made by the King on his life.

Meanwhile news arrived that the Moguls of Chungiz Khan had invested Lahore, on Monday the 16th of Jumad-ool-Akhir*, in the year 639; that Mullik Kurragooz, the Viceroy, finding his troops mutinous, had been obliged to fly in the night, and was actually on his way to Dehly, and that Lahore was plundered by the enemy, and many of the inhabitants carried away prisoners.

Jumad-ool-Akhir 16. A. H. 639. Nov. 22. A. D. 1241.

The King, on this urgent occasion, called a general council of state in the white palace, when

* This invasion took place under a famous Toorky leader, named Toormooshreen Khan.

it was determined to send the Vizier, and Mullik Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun Ghoory (Vakeel-oos-Sultanut), with other officers, towards Lahore, to oppose the Moguls. The army arrived as far as the river Beea, where the town of Sooltanpoor now stands, when the Vizier, who had every reason to be hostile to the King, began to sow the seeds of sedition in the minds of his officers; and the better to effect his purpose, wrote privately to the King, accusing certain nobles of disaffection, begging he would either join the army in person, or send written orders to him and his colleague Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun, authorizing them to make away with those officers who were discontented and disposed to revolt. Though previously aware of the treachery of his Vizier in the late conspiracy, the King had permitted this crafty courtier so to gain his confidence, that he gave full credence to this representation. Beiram Padshah replied, that the officers deserved death; at the same time, he recommended the Vizier to keep them quiet till he should be able fully to convict and bring them to punishment without danger. This was precisely what the minister required: for by producing the King's letter, he inflamed the minds of the officers, while he misled them with respect to the accuser. He even pretended to be apprehensive for himself; and having consulted with them regarding their general safety, they resolved to unite and support the Vizier against the King.

The news of this confederacy opened the King's eyes when too late. He now proceeded in great perturbation to the house of Khwaja Kootb-ood-

Deen Bukhtyar, Ooshy (the Sheikh-ool-Islam), a venerable and learned man, requesting him to go to the camp, and endeavour to reclaim the disaffected chiefs. The Sheikh-ool-Islam accordingly went forth privately; but being unable to accommodate matters, returned to Dehly. The Vizier, in the mean time, threw off the mask, and, advancing with the army to the capital, besieged it for three months and an half, till, at length, disaffection having communicated itself to the citizens, Dehly was taken on Monday the 8th of Zeekada, in the year 639, and Beiram thrown into prison, where in a few days he suffered death, after a reign of two years, one month, and fifteen days.

Zeekada 8.
A. H. 639.
May 10.
A. D. 1241.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN MUSAOOD.

Attempt of Mullik Eiz ood-Deen Bulbun, the elder, to seize the crown — is deposed on the same day, and Alla-ood-Deen Musaood, the son of Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, is raised to the throne. — Khwaja Mehdy, entitled Nizam-ool-Moolk, retains the office of minister, but is shortly after assassinated. — An invasion of Moguls into Bengal, by the way of Thibet. — Repulsed by Mullik Kurra Beg Teimoor, an officer sent from Dehly. — The Moguls invade Oocha on the west. — The King marches to oppose them — returns to Dehly — abandons himself to licentiousness — becomes very cruel. — The nobles invite the King's uncle, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, from Byraich, to ascend the throne. — Alla-ood-Deen Musaood is deposed and imprisoned — in which condition he dies.

When Beiram had sipped of the cup of fate, Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, the elder, raised a faction, forced his way into the palace, ascended the throne, and caused himself to be proclaimed King throughout the city. But the greater part of the nobility, dissatisfied with his elevation, released the Princes Nasir-ood-Deen and Julal-ood-Deen, sons of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, as also the Prince Alla-ood-Deen Musaood, the son of Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, and at length raised the latter to the musnud, on the same day on which Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun had occupied it. Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun Ghoory was appointed the deputy of Khwaja Mehdy, who maintained the office of vizier with the official designation of Nizam-ool-

Moolk, and the late governor of Lahore, Mullik Kurra-gooz, became Ameer Hajib.

The Vizier still retained his ascendency; but his haughty and overbearing temper gave much offence to the nobles, who very shortly began to conspire against him; and on Wednesday, 2d Jumad-ool-Awul, in the year 640, they found means to assassinate him in the plain of Houz-i-Rany, while hunting. The vizarut was conferred upon Nujm-ood-Deen Aboo Bukr; Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, junior, became Ameer Hajib, and Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, senior, was appointed viceroy of Nagore, Sind, and Ajmeer. The Purguna of Budaoon was given at the same time to Mullik Taj-ood-Deen Toork; and other provinces were allotted to various chiefs, according to their rank and interest, so that peace and satisfaction seemed now to diffuse themselves over the court. At this period, Eiz-ood-Deen Toghan Khan, who had marched from Kurra to Luknowty, deputed Shureef-ool-Moolk Shunkry to court, where he was honourably received, and on his return he was charged with the scarlet *chutr**, and a splendid dress for his master, to be delivered by Kazy Julal-ood-Deen, governor of Oude.

Jumad-ool-Awul 2. A. H. 640. Oct. 30. A. D. 1242.

The King, about this time, having released his two uncles, the Princes Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, and Julal-ood-Deen, who had been imprisoned

* The chutr, or umbrella, was used only by crowned heads, or by viceroys in the King's absence. It is so far a mark of distinction at present, even, that no one can assume it without it is conferred by the prince.

by their brother Beiram, conferred upon the former the government of Byraich, and to the latter he gave that of Kunowj. In the year 642 an army of Mogul Tartars made an incursion into Bengal, by the way of Khutta and Thibet. * It is generally supposed they entered by the same route which Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy took when he invaded Khutta and Thibet from Bengal. † Musaood sent Mullik Kurra Beg Teimoor to the aid of Toghan Khan, governor of Bengal. The Mogul sustained a total defeat; but jealousy soon after breaking out between Mullik Kurra Beg and Toghan Khan, they proceeded to open hostilities; and the King directed Toghan Khan to resign the government to Mullik Kurra Beg, and to return to Dehly. In the following year, intelligence arrived that another army of Moguls, from Kandahar and Talikhan, under the command of Mungoo Khan, had advanced as far as the Indus, and invested Oocha. The King immediately ordered his army into the field, and putting himself at its head, marched against the enemy. When he reached the banks of the river Beea, the Moguls raised the siege of Oocha, and began to retreat; and the King, hearing they had totally evacuated the country, returned to Dehly.

A. H. 642. A. D. 1244.

Shortly after this, abandoning himself to wine and women, he exercised various acts of cruelty, injustice, and oppression, in spite of the admo-

* If this statement can be relied on, it is extremely curious.

† Mullik Mahomed Bukhtyar made an invasion into Chinese Tartary, either through Nepal or Assam, it does not appear certain which, but, probably, Assam.

nition of his ministers and friends. The princes and nobles, unwilling to submit to his caprice and wickedness, privately sent for Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, the King's uncle, from Byraich, who advanced with all the troops at his command to the capital. He found the imbecile Musaood already deposed, on the 23d Mohurrum, A. H. 644. He had been cast into prison by the nobles, and was allowed to remain there the rest of his life. He reigned four years, one month, and one day.

Mohurrum 23. A. H. 644. June 10. A. D. 1246.

NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHMOOD.

Life of the King previously to his accession — his love of literature — his remarkable character. — Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, the King's brother-in-law, appointed minister. — Bulbun's nephew, Sheer Khan, nominated governor of the north-west provinces, to keep in check the Mogul incursions. — The King transfers the whole weight of the government on his minister. — The King proceeds to Mooltan. — The minister attacks the Gukkurs for having united with the Moguls in their incursions. — The Gukkurs defeated, and several thousands carried into slavery. — Several of the ancient nobles holding estates in Punjab on feudal tenure directed to reside at court, while their sons are left in possession of them. — The King returns to Dehly — proceeds to the Doab, lying between the Jumna and Ganges — reduces some Hindoo rajas — proceeds to Runtunbhore. — The King recalls his brother Julal from Kunowj — the latter withdraws from the kingdom to Chittoor. — The King espouses the daughter of his minister Bulbun. — Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, another chief of the same tribe, is made governor of Oocha and Nagore — rebels — but is subsequently pardoned. — The King besieges Nurwur, which is taken. — Chundery and part of Malwa subdued and occupied by the King's troops. — Sheer Khan, the minister's nephew, governor of Punjab, marches to Ghizny, and expels the Moguls. — Oocha and Nagore made over to Sheer Khan. — Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany intrigues against the minister Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, who retires to his estate at Hansy. — Hansy taken from him. — The ex-minister has recourse to arms — the nobles of the court support him — is restored to his office. — Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany, ex-minister, rebels — is defeated, and suffers death. — Kootloogh Khan in rebellion — is joined by the ruler of Sind — they are defeated by the minister. — The ruler of Sind retires to his government, where he dies. — Kootloogh Khan disappears. — The Rajpoots of Mewat in insurrection — are

attacked by the minister — desperate conflict. — Mewatties subdued with heavy loss. — 200 of their leaders put to death after being taken prisoners. — An embassy is received from Hoolakoo, King of Persia. — Splendid reception of the ambassador. — Character of Nasir-ood-Deen — his death.

We have already related that when the eldest son of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish died in Bengal, he conferred the government of that principality on his youngest son Mahmood, to whom he also gave the title of Nasir-ood-Deen. These were nominal honours, as Mahmood was at that time too young to assume the charge. At his father's death he was confined by the cruel Queen, Shah Toorkan, and remained in prison till released by the late King Musaood, who gave him the government of Byraich. During the period of his administration, he waged successful wars with the infidels, and rendered his province happy and flourishing. The fame of his justice and good management became notorious, and the nobles, in the late revolution, naturally looked towards him as successor to the crown. He was accordingly seated on the throne of his father Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, of which, independently of his birth, on account of his bravery, wisdom, and learning, together with his many other good qualities, he seemed peculiarly fitted to become the ornament. During his imprisonment he preferred maintaining himself by his writings to accepting any public allowance; and he used often to say, that he who would not work for his bread did not deserve it. When he ascended the throne he became the patron of learning, the protector of the people, and the friend

of the poor. The poets of the age vied with each other for the prize at his coronation, which was gained by Minhaj-oos-Siraj Joorjany, who afterwards compiled the Tubkat Nasiry, which he dedicated to Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood. The office of minister was conferred on Mullik Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, junior, who was originally the slave of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, and afterwards received the hand of his sovereign's daughter. Bulbun now received the title of Alugh Khan, and the whole executive power of government was vested in him. Gheias-ood-Deen's nephew, Sheer Khan, received the title of Maazim Khan, and was appointed to the government of the Punjab, Mooltan, Bhutnere, and Surhind, and was directed to maintain a standing army to watch the motions of the Moguls, who now occupied the provinces of Ghizny, Kabul, Kandahar, Bulkh, and Hirat. The forts of Bhutnere and Surhind were rebuilt at this time by Sheer Khan. It is related when Nasir-ood-Deen appointed Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, junior, to the office of vizier, he told him, that he confided his own honour to his loyalty and good conduct, enjoining him to do nothing for which he could not answer to God. The Vizier faithfully promised to fulfil the King's wishes, and, by exerting himself with unwearied diligence in his office, regulated public business so well, that nothing escaped his eye, or passed without his particular inspection.

Rujub, A. H. 644. July, A. D. 1247.

In the month of Rujub, the King took the field, and marched toward Mooltan. The army encamped for

sometime upon the banks of the Sodra, from whence the Vizier proceeded towards the mountains of Jood, and the provinces on the Indus. These countries were reduced, and the King took revenge on the Gukkurs for their continual incursions, and for having led the Moguls through their country into Hindoostan. Deeming these offences too great to be pardoned, he carried several thousand Gukkurs of all ages, and of each sex, into captivity.

It is related that some old officers who held Jageers in the provinces near the Indus, during the reigns of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, and Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, had, for some time past, refused to supply their quotas of troops to the army, for the performance of which duty they held these estates. By the advice of the Vizier their titles were taken from them, and they were carried prisoners to Dehly; but the King conferred their estates on their sons or relations, on the former military tenure. The countries of Punjab and Mooltan were by these means effectually reduced to subjection, and the King's authority was firmly restored. The conduct of Nasir-ood-Deen, on this occasion, reminds me of a story I have somewhere read, that when Alexander the Great was on his way to India, some of his old generals, unwilling to proceed farther, began to mutiny. Alexander was thrown into great perplexity, not knowing how to manage them. In this dilemma he sent a messenger to Greece, to consult his old master Aristotle, who, by reason of his age and infirmities, had not accompanied him. When the sage read the letter, he carried the messenger into his garden,

where he gave orders to the gardener to root up all the old plants, and set young shoots in their places. Without saying more or writing any answer, he told the messenger to return in haste to his master. When the messenger arrived, he fell upon his face before the King, and told him he could obtain no reply. Alexander being somewhat surprised, enquired into the particulars of the interview; and on hearing the above relation, he smiled, and told the messenger he had brought him an excellent answer. He accordingly removed some of the old mutinous officers, and disgraced others, supplying their places with young men, who became more obedient, and thus re-established his authority in the army.

Shaban, A. H. 645. Dec. A. D. 1247. In the month of Shaban, 645, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood proceeded with his troops through the country which lies between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and, after an obstinate siege, the fort of Bitunda * yielded to his arms. He then continued his march towards Kurra, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun commanding the vanguard. He was met at Kurra by the Rajas Dulky and Mulky †, whom he defeated and plundered, taking many of their families prisoners. These two Rajas had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna, and had destroyed the King's garrisons from Malwa to Kurra. They resided at Kalunjur. After these exploits Nasir-ood-Deen returned to Dehly.

* This place is now called Bulundshehr.

† The Mahomedan author from whom Ferishta copies, has, probably, made some mistake in the names.

Shaban 6. A. H. 646. Nov. 25. A. D. 1247. On the 6th of Shaban, A. H. 646, the Vizier marched with an army towards Runtunbhore and the mountains of Mewat, and, after chastising the refractory inhabitants of those countries, returned to Dehly. The Vizier's brother, Eibuk Kishly Khan, was now promoted to the office of Ameer Hajib, and Ayaz Ryhany was nominated Vakeel-oos Sultanut. In the same year, the King's brother, Julal-ood-Deen, was recalled from his government of Kunowj to Dehly, but, apprehensive of a design against his life, he fled to the hills of Chittoor with all his adherents. The King pursued him; but finding, after eight months, that he could not secure him, returned to Dehly. Nasir-ood-Deen, in A. H. 647. A. D. 1248. the year 647, married the daughter of his Vizier, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun. On A. H. 648. A. D. 1249. the year following he marched an army towards Mooltan. On the banks of the Beea he was joined by the minister's nephew, Sheer Khan, governor of the northern provinces, with twenty thousand chosen horse, and continued his march to Mooltan, where he remained for some days, when, having placed Mullik Eizood-deen Bulbun, senior, in the government of Nagore and Oocha, and settled some other affairs, he returned to his capital.

A. H. 649. A. D. 1250. Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, in the year 649, throwing off his allegiance, raised a rebellion. This obliged Nasir-ood-Deen to march an army towards Nagore, where the rebel was put to flight; but, on his throwing himself on the King's mercy, he not only obtained his

pardon, but was reinstated in his government. After returning from this expedition the King remained only a few days at Dehly, before he proceeded to the siege of Nurwur. The Raja, Jahir Dew, having lately constructed the fort on the summit of a rock, prepared to defend it to the last. He accordingly marched out to oppose the Mahomedans with five thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot. This immense host being defeated with great slaughter, the place was invested, and reduced to surrender, after a few months' siege. Thence the King marched to Chundery and Malwa, having subdued which countries, and having appointed an officer to govern them, he returned to Dehly. The Vizier gained, in this expedition, great reputation for his conduct and personal valour.

Shaban 5. A. H. 649. A. D. 1250.

In the mean time, Sheer Khan, viceroy of Lahore and Mooltan, the most celebrated man of his age, for his wisdom, valour, and every princely quality, had raised and disciplined a body of horse, with which he drove the Moguls out of Ghizny, and annexed it once more to the kingdom of Dehly. He also caused coin to be struck in the name of Nasir-ood-Deen, and proclaimed him King through all the provinces in that quarter. In consideration of these services, the province of Oocha was added to his government, which, contrary to expectation, was quietly delivered up by Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, senior, who returned to Dehly, and received the Jageer of Budaoon. In the year 650, Nasir-ood-Deen marched by the route of Lahore to Mooltan, when he was

A. H. 650. A. D. 1252.

joined by the governor of Budaoon, and by Kootloogh Khan, with an army from Sehwan. In the beginning of the year 651, Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany, who owed his situation entirely to the interest of the Vizier, envying the fame and influence of that great man, took every private opportunity to traduce his benefactor to the King. The monarch's esteem for the Vizier began visibly to decline; and he was even prevailed on, at last, to dismiss him from office, conferring on him, in lieu of it, the small estate of Hansy, for his subsistence, where his enemy sought an opportunity to take his life.

A. H. 651. A. D. 1253.

Imad-ood-Deen, the minister's successful rival, now became absolute in the King's favour, and exercised his authority in ejecting from their offices and government all those who owed their situations to the former Vizier. Eibuk Kishly Khan was sent to Kurra Maunukpoor, and Ein-ool-Moolk Mahomed, the son of the late Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy, was appointed Vizier-kool, or Regent, at Dehly, till the King's arrival. When Imad-ood-Deen returned he disturbed the public peace, and overthrew the ancient laws of the state. Meanwhile the King was compelled to take the field, in the direction of the Beea, for Sheer Khan had, unfortunately, been lately defeated by a body of insurgents from Sind, and had lost several forts in Mooltan. This furnished the favourite with an opportunity of disgracing him in the eyes of the King, who removed him from his government, which he conferred on Arslan Khan. The governor of Keituhl and Kohram having been assassinated by the zemin-

dars, the King was induced to march his army to that quarter.

The administration of Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany now became so unpopular, that the governors of the following provinces, viz. Kurra, Manukpoor, Oude, Budaoon, Surhind, Sumana, Kohram, Lahore, Sewalik, and Nagore, entered into a confederacy, and deputed persons to wait on Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, the former vizier, declaring that the welfare of the country was at stake, and that the oppression and arrogance of Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany was intolerable. They entreated him, therefore, to proceed to Dehly, and assume the reins of government, as formerly. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun having consented, the nobles united their forces, and met on the same day, at Kohram.

Nasir-ood-Deen and his minister Imad-ood-Deen, on gaining this intelligence, marched to disperse the insurgents; but as the royal army advanced to Hansy, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, and the nobles, sent an address to the King, to the following purpose: "That they were loyal subjects, and were "satisfied to kiss the foot of his throne, provided "he consented to banish Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany "from his presence." The King found himself under the necessity of either acceding to this request, or of losing his kingdom, so that having dismissed the obnoxious favourite, and sent him to Budaoon, the chiefs presented their offerings, and were gratified by honorary dresses. Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Khany, of the Toorky tribe of Khwaja-Tash, was appointed to command at Lahore, and Sheer Khan was reinstated in his former govern-

ment, Nasir-ood-Deen then returned peaceably to Dehly, and evinced great joy at seeing his old vizier, who, by his mild administration, had gained the hearts of his subjects.

A.H. 653. A.D. 1256. In the year 653, the King had some personal quarrel with his mother, Mulika Jehan, who, after the death of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, had married Seif-ood-Deen Kootloogh Khan, a noble of the court. Nasir-ood-Deen, in order to remove his mother from Dehly, conferred on her husband the government of Oude, and shortly after removed him to Beiraich. Kootloogh Khan, dissatisfied with this arrangement, prepared for rebellion, and being joined by the ex-minister, Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany, and Eibuk Kishly Khan, revolted. The Vizier marched against them, and having defeated the insurgents, the late minister, Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany, was taken prisoner, and put to death; but Seif-ood-Deen Kootloogh Khan effected his escape, and fled to Chittoor. The Vizier destroyed the fort in which Kootloogh Khan held out, but, being unable to secure his person, returned to Dehly.

A.H. 655. A.D. 1257. Depal, the Raja of Sutnoor*, in the year 655, raised an army in support of Kootloogh Khan, who was joined by troops from Sind, whose governor also engaged in the confederacy. The united forces, encamping near Kohram, assumed a very formidable appearance. The Vizier again took the field, but discovered a

* I have been unable to fix the position of this place. The word may be Suntpoor, a town near Aboo, and its proximity to Sind would account for the Sindian auxiliaries.

treasonable correspondence in his camp, wherein some of his officers had concerted a plan with a faction in the city to deliver up Dehly to the insurgents in his absence. Letters to this effect being intercepted by the minister, instant notice of the circumstance was given to the King, in Dehly, who caused the conspirators in the city to be secured.

Meanwhile, the confederates, according to the projected plan, marched with a body of chosen cavalry 200 miles in two days, and advanced to the city gates, where they expected to meet their friends; but finding themselves disappointed, and the King's troops marching against them, they entirely dispersed. The chief of Sind retired to his government, but Kootloogh Khan was never again heard of. Towards the latter end of this year, a Mogul army having crossed the Indus, Nasir-ood-Deen marched to oppose them; but the Moguls retired at his approach, and he returned to his capital, confiding the province of Punjab to the minister's nephew, Sheer Khan, while Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Khany was sent to Bengal.

A. H. 656. A. D. 1258. In the year 656, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood marched towards Kurra Manukpoor, to chastise Arslan Khan and Kullich Khan, who had neglected to bring their forces into the field in obedience to his orders, when he marched the year before to Punjab. These officers, however, found means not only to appease the King's resentment, but Arslan Khan had even influence sufficient to procure the government of Bengal, so lately conferred on Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Khany; while the latter

obtained, in lieu, some districts at the foot of the mountains.

A. H. 657. A. D. 1259. Eibuk Kishly Khan, the Vizier's brother, in the year 657, was appointed to the government of Kole Jalesur, Gualiar, and Byana. Nothing else remarkable happened during this year but the death of the rebellious governor of Sind. The Vizier, by the King's command, led next year an army into the mountainous country of Sewalik, and also towards Runtunbhore, where the rajas and rajpoots of Mewat had begun to create disturbances; and having collected a numerous body of horse and foot, plundered and burnt the country. At the Vizier's approach, they retired into strong posts among the mountains, where, being attacked and routed, the Vizier continued to ravage their country four months with fire and sword. The rajpoots, thus rendered desperate, collected all their forces, and rushed down from the mountains on the Mahomedans. The Vizier, who saw the storm descending, had scarcely time to make his arrangements for receiving them. The attack was violent and terrible, and it was not without much difficulty that the Vizier kept his men together; but as the assaults of the enemy became more feeble towards mid-day (till which time the Mahomedans had acted only on the defensive), the Vizier caused his troops to attack in their turn, and before evening he succeeded in driving the enemy, with great slaughter, back to the hills. The loss of the Mahomedans in this action was considerable, and many brave officers were killed. Of the Hindoos, above 10,000 fell, and 200 of their chiefs were made prisoners,

besides a great number of common soldiers. The Vizier having by this action relieved the fort of Runtunbhore, which had been besieged for some months, returned victorious to Dehly. The captive chiefs were ordered to be put to death, and their followers condemned to perpetual slavery. In the month of Rubbee-ool-Awul of this year an ambassador arrived at Dehly, on the part of Hoolakoo, the grandson of Chungiz Khan, King of Persia. The Vizier went out to meet him in state, with a train of 50,000 foreign horse, then in the service of the Dehly government, 2000 elephants, and 3000 carriages of fire-works.* Having exhibited some feats of horsemanship in sham fights, and having made a very splendid display before the ambassador, the latter was conducted in state through the city direct to the palace. There the court was arranged in the most gorgeous and magnificent style. All the nobles, and public officers of state, the Judges, the Moollas, and the great men of the city were present, besides twenty-five princes of Irak-Ajum, Khorassan, and Mawur-ool-Nehr, with their retinues, who had sought protection at Dehly from the armies of Chungiz Khan, which some time before had overrun most part of Asia. Many tributary Indian princes, also, were there, and stood next to the throne.

Rubbee-ool-Awul, A.H.657. March, A.D.1258.

Nasir-ood-Deen, contrary to the custom of other

* I am at a loss to think what is the nature of the fire-works alluded to, unless they consisted of the Greek fire used by Mahomed Kassim, in Sind, and by Mahmood of Ghizny.

princes, kept no concubines. He had but one wife, whom he obliged to do every homely part of housewifery. When she complained, one day, that she had burnt her fingers in baking his bread, and desired he would allow her a maid to assist her, he rejected her request, saying, that he was only a trustee for the state, and was determined not to burden it with needless expenses. He therefore exhorted her to persevere in her duty with patience, and God would reward her on the day of judgment.

As the Emperor of India never eats in public, the table of Nasir-ood-Deen was rather that of a hermit than suitable to a great king; and after his accession to the throne he continued the whimsical habit of purchasing his food from the efforts of his penmanship.

One day as a nobleman was inspecting a Koran of the King's writing before him, he pointed out the word *Fee*, which was written twice over: the King looking at it, smiled, and drew a circle round it. But when the critic was gone, he began to erase the circle, and restore the word. This being observed by one of his old attendants, he begged to know his Majesty's reason for so doing; to which he replied, that he knew the word was originally right, but he thought it better to erase it from a paper, than touch the heart of a poor man by bringing him to shame.

A. H. 663. A. D. 1264. Jumad-ool Awul 11. A. H. 664. February 18. A. D. 1266.

In the year 663, the King fell sick, and having lingered some months of the disease, he expired on the 11th Jumad-ool-Awul, 664, after a reign of twenty years and upwards.

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN BULBUN:*

His early life and character — his conduct on his accession to the throne — his repugnance to the employment of men of low origin — his court the resort of many of the princes and nobles expelled by Chungiz Khan and the Moguls from their own dominions — his encouragement of learned men. — Description of his court and equipage. — Singular instance of stern justice. — Makes war on the Mewatties. — 100,000 *Mewatties put to death. — The army employed to fell the forests of Mewat, which become good arable lands. — The King marches an army to Lahore, and repairs the city walls. — Settles pensions on the old officers of the army. — The King's nephew, Sheer Khan, dies — is buried in a magnificent tomb at Bhutnere. — Moguls invade the Punjab. — The King's eldest son Mahomed opposes and defeats them — is made governor of Mooltan. — Toghrul Khan, ruler of Bengal, revolts. — An army is sent against him, which is defeated, and the general slain. — The King proceeds in person to quell the revolt. — Toghrul flies to Orissa — is pursued by the King's army, and slain. — The King returns to Dehly, after an absence of three years. — The Prince Mahomed comes to the capital — his father's advice to him. — Moguls invade Punjab. — The Prince marches against them — defeats them, but is himself killed in the action — his romantic gallantry — his character. — The King's grief for the loss of his son. — Appoints the Prince's son, Kei Khoosrow, to succeed him in Mooltan. — The King's health gradually declines. — Sends for his son Kurra Khan, governor of Bengal, who comes, but again quits the capital. — The King makes*

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* This prince has been usually called Balin by most European writers. Erskine, in his edition of Baber's Commentaries, I find, styles him Bulbun; and I perceive the Hindoo authors give him the same name. Bulbun is also the reading I have universally found adopted by the best informed natives of India.

his will in favour of his grandson Kei Khoosrow, governor of Mooltan. — Death of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun. — Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal opposes the succession of Kei Khoosrow, but raises Kei Kobad, the son of Kurra Khan, to the throne.

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN BULBUN was a prince of just principles, and endowed with many great and amiable qualities. He was a Toork of Kurra Khutta, and of the tribe of Albery. In his youth he was taken by the Moguls, that conquered his country, and sold him to a merchant, who conveyed him to Bagdad. His father was a chief of great power, and commanded 10,000 horse in the war in which our young hero was carried off. He was bought at Bagdad, in the year 630, by Khwaja Jumal-ood-Deen, of Bussora, a person famed for his piety and learning. His patron, having ascertained that he was of the same tribe as Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, conveyed him to Dehly, and, presenting him to that monarch, was rewarded so handsomely, that he returned with an independent fortune to Bagdad.

Shums-ood-Deen Altmish employed him first in the superintendence of his falconry, in which he was very skilful. He rose by degrees from that station, by the influence of his brother Eibuk Kishly Khan, (who happened to be then in great favour at the court of Dehly,) till he became a noble. In the reign of Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze he commanded in Punjab, when, on hearing that his enemies at court had exasperated the King against him, he refused to obey the royal mandate to return, and long maintained

independent possession of the province. Having subsequently joined the confederate chiefs who marched to Dehly to depose Sooltana Ruzeea Begum, he was taken prisoner, and remained some time in confinement; but, effecting his escape, he joined the party of Beiram against the Queen. During the reign of Beiram he was particularly befriended by Budr-ood-Deen, the Ameer Hajib, through whose influence he procured the government of Hansy and Rewary, in which office he distinguished himself in several actions against the inhabitants of Mewat.

During the reign of Alla-ood-Deen Musaood, in the year 642, he was promoted to the office of Ameer Hajib, and in the late reign of Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood he was raised to the vizarut, which high office he filled in such a manner as to relieve the King from all anxiety and embarrassment, and on the death of his sovereign, who was also his brother-in-law, he ascended the throne not only without opposition, but even with the general consent of the nobility and people.

In the reign of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, forty of his Toorky slaves, who were in great favour, entered into a solemn covenant to support each other, and on the King's death to divide the empire among themselves. Jealousies and dissensions afterwards arose among them, and prevented this project from being carried into execution. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun was of this number, and as several of them had succeeded to great power in the kingdom, the first act of his reign was to rid himself of all who remained. Among

these was his own nephew, the celebrated Sheer Khan.

The death of these chiefs removed all apprehension from his mind, and he afterwards became so renowned for his justice and the wisdom of his administration, that his alliance was courted by the kings of Persia and Tartary. He took particular care that none but men of merit and family should be admitted to any public office, and for this purpose he endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the talents and connections of every person about his court. While, on the one hand, he was liberal in rewarding merit, on the other, he was no less rigid in punishing vice; for whoever misbehaved in his station was certain of being immediately disgraced. He made it a rule never to place any Hindoo in a situation of trust or power, lest that race should employ its delegated authority to the destruction of the Mahomedans.

During a reign of 22 years he scrupulously excluded men of low origin from his court; and being one day told that one Fukhroo, an old servant of the state, who had acquired a vast fortune by usury and by monopolies in the bazaar, would present him with some laks of rupees if he would honour him with one word from the throne, he rejected the proposal with disdain, and said, — "What must his subjects think of a king who "should condescend to hold discourse with such a "creature?"

In the history of these times, compiled from the Tubkat Nasiry and other works, besides that of Ein-ood-Deen Beejapoory, it is stated, that Gheias-

ood-Deen Bulbun used to affirm, that one of the greatest sources of the pride of his reign was, that "upwards of fifteen of the unfortunate sovereigns "from Toorkistan, Mawur-ool-Nehr, Khorassan, "Irak, Ajum, Azoorbaizam, Iran, and Room, who "had been driven from their countries by the "arms of Chungiz Khan, were enabled to find "an honourable asylum at his court at Dehly." Princely allowances and palaces were assigned to each, and, on public occasions, they ranged themselves before the throne according to their rank; all standing on the right and left, except two princes of the race of the Caliphs, who were permitted to sit on either side of the musnud. The parts of the town in which the royal emigrants resided took their names from the princes who occupied them, and were denominated Mohullas; such as,

The Mohulla Abassy.	The Mohulla Roomy.
— Sunjurry.	— Sunkury.
— Khwaruzm Shahy.	— Yemny.
— Deylimy.	— Moosury.
— Alny.	— Samar-Kundy.
— Atabuky.	— Kashghury.
— Ghoory.	— Khuttay.
— Chungizy.	

In the retinue of those princes were some of the most illustrious men of learning whom Asia at that time produced. The court of India, therefore, in the days of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, was

* "Parish," or ward.

esteemed the most polite and magnificent in the world. A society of learned men assembled frequently at the house of the prince, commonly known by the name of Khan Shaheed, at which the Ameer Khoosrow of Dehly, the poet, presided. Another society of musicians, dancers, actors, and *story-tellers* *, frequently met at the house of the King's second son, Kurra Khan Bagera, who delighted in such amusements. The omras followed the example of their superiors, so that various societies were formed in every quarter of the city, and the King's taste for splendour in his palaces, equipages, and liveries, was imitated by the courtiers.

So imposing were the ceremonies of introduction to the royal presence, that none could approach the throne without a mixture of awe and admiration. Nor was Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun less splendid in his processions. His state elephants were covered with purple and gold trappings. His horse-guards, consisting of a thousand Tartars, appeared in glittering armour, mounted on the finest steeds of Persia and Arabia, with silver bits, and housings of rich embroidery. Five hundred chosen foot, in rich liveries, with drawn swords, preceded him, proclaiming his approach, and clearing the way. His nobles followed according to their rank, with their various equipages and attendants. The Nowroze †

* The kissa go's, or story-tellers, of the East, are so famed, that any particular notice of them seems unnecessary. A lively description of Persian story-tellers will be found in a deservedly popular work, lately published, entitled Sketches of Persia, vol. i. chap. xi. p. 175, &c.

† Nowroze is the festival of the vernal equinox.

and other festivals, and the anniversary of his own birth, were held with much pomp.

As an instance of his inflexible justice, it is related that Mullik Feiz Shirwany, the son of the keeper of the royal wardrobe, an officer of rank, who maintained a guard of 1000 horsemen, and was governor of the province of Budaoon, put to death one of his personal dependents, with his own hand, while in a state of drunkenness. After some time, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun happened to go in person to Budaoon, when the widow of the deceased came to complain of the injury. The governor, Mullik Feiz, was sent for, and tried, and was beaten to death in the presence of the whole court, after which his body was hung over the gate of the town. Another instance is also mentioned of one Hybut Khan, an officer of the household troops, who held the government of Oude, who also put a person to death while in a state of intoxication. On the complaint coming before the King, and the fact being proved, the governor received a public whipping of 500 lashes, and was given over as a slave to the widow of the deceased; nor did he procure his release till he had paid 20,000 silver tunkas for his ransom, after which he kept his house and soon died. Gheias-ood-Deen used to tell his children, that Shums-ood-Deen Altmish said, in his presence, that he heard Syed Moobaruk Ghizny twice repeat to Mahomed Ghoory, that "kings were too apt to conduct themselves as if they were gods upon earth, contrary to the ordinances of prophets and of religion; but, said this holy man, a king can only be saved

" from perdition by the exercise of four duties, " and if there be a deficiency in any one of " these, no mortal will be subject to more rigid " scrutiny, or meet with less mercy on the day of " judgment." These duties are, 1st, " To as- " sume dignity, and exercise power at proper sea- " sons, and allow nothing to induce him to forget " the majesty of God, or the happiness of his sub- " jects. 2dly, Not to permit immorality and in- " decency to be openly practised within his realm, " without imposing heavy fines, or some other " punishment. 3dly, To make selections from men " of character for the offices of government, and " not to permit men of notoriously vicious habits " to find an asylum within his realm. 4thly, To be " patient and just in the administration of justice.

" These are the rules," said this Prince, " which I " have adopted for my own conduct; they are those " on which I hope my successor will also act; " and I warn you, that, although you are my own " children, you will meet with no consideration on " that account, if you infringe the laws of the " empire."

Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, in his youth, was addicted to the use of wine; but, on his accession to the throne, he became a great enemy to this luxury, prohibiting the use and manufacture of fermented liquors throughout his dominions, under the severest penalties. So rigid was he in enforcing his authority, that, for the disobedience of one man, he would order a force to the remotest parts of the empire, if necessary, to bring him to punishment. In cases of insurrection or rebellion, he was not satisfied, as

had formerly been the custom, to chastise the leaders, but he extended the capital punishment of high treason to the meanest of their vassals and adherents. This severity rendered it necessary for the Soobas to have the King's mandate for every military expedition or act of hostility which they undertook.

That his army might be kept in constant exercise, he led them out twice every week to hunt for forty or fifty miles round the city, and established laws for the preservation of the game.

A. H. 664. A. D. 1265. In the year 664, he was advised by his council to undertake an expedition to reduce the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malwa, which had been annexed to the empire by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, but had since shaken off the Mahomedan yoke. To this measure he by no means assented, saying, that the Mogul Tartars were become so powerful in the north, having conquered all the Mussulman Princes, that he thought it wiser to secure what he possessed, than leave his country unprotected from foreign invasion. In this same year, Mahomed Tatar Khan, the son of Arslan Khan, who during the late reign had neglected to remit the annual revenue, sent 63 elephants, and other presents, as a peace-offering from his government of Luknowty, which were graciously received; and from that day the supremacy of Dehly was re-established. In the course of this year, an army was ordered to extirpate a plundering banditti of Mewatties, who had occupied an extensive tract about eighty miles south-east of the capital, towards the hills, from whence they

used, in former reigns, to make incursions even to the gates of Dehly. It is said, that in this expedition above 100,000 Mewatties were put to the sword; and the army, being supplied with hatchets and other implements, cleared away the woods for the circumference of 100 miles. The tract thus cleared afterwards proved excellent arable land, and became well cultivated.

A. H. 665. A. D. 1266. In the year 665, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun sent an army into the Doab (the tract lying between the Ganges and Jumna), to suppress some insurrections. The King himself soon after marched in person towards Cumpila, Puttialy, and Bhojpoor, whose inhabitants interrupted the intercourse between Dehly and Bengal, by the route of Joonpoor and Benares. He put some thousands of them to death, and caused forts to be built, in which he placed Moslem garrisons to quell any future disturbance. It was at this time, also, he repaired the fort of Julaly, and then returned to Dehly. Soon after his arrival he received intelligence of an insurrection in Budaoon and Kuttehr, whither he marched with 500 select cavalry, and put to death the insurgents, with the exception of women and children. On this occasion he so completely eradicated that band of plunderers, that neither in Amroha, Budaoon, or Sumbul, were any murders or robberies committed till the period of Julal-ood-Deen Feroze.

Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, after these transactions, marched his army towards the mountains of Jood, where he employed them for the space of two years in taking forts, and reducing the inhabitants

to obedience. This country was famous for its breed of horses, many thousands of which were brought back to Dehly. Wherever the King marched, the Soobas*, Zemindars, Fojdars, and magistrates of the provinces, met him on their own frontiers, with their offerings, which were afterwards distributed among the poor. Some time after this, the King made a journey to Lahore, which city, having greatly suffered from the Moguls, he ordered to be put in a proper state of defence; and, after erecting some public buildings, returned to Dehly.

About this period Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun was told by one of his omras, that a number of veterans who had served in the preceding reigns, were now worn out, and incapable of further duty. The King ordered a list of them to be made, and settled half-pay upon them for life, exonerating them from active employ. The old men, however, being dissatisfied with this provision, deputed some of their number to go to Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal of Dehly with presents, to induce him to represent their case to the King. This venerable magistrate, being in great favour, rejected the presents, but told them he would use his endeavour to get their full pay continued to them. He accordingly went next day to court, and, while standing in the presence, put on a face of dejection, which being observed, the King enquired the cause. The old man replied, "I was just thinking, that if, in the pre-

* Soobas, governors of provinces; Zemindars, hereditary managers of the lands; Fojdars, commanders of troops.

"sence of God, all the old men were rejected, "what would become of me." The King was struck with the reproof, and after a short and pensive silence, ordered the usual full pay to be continued to the veterans.

In the fourth year of this reign, the King's nephew, Sheer Khan, who had ruled the districts of Lahore, Mooltan, Bhukkur, Surhind, Depalpoor, Bituhnda, and all the districts open to the Mogul incursions, died, and was buried at Bhutnere. Some say he was poisoned by the King's order. He was entombed at Bhutnere in an extensive mausoleum which he had there constructed for the purpose. On the demise of Sheer Khan, Soonam and Samana were granted to Ameer Teimoor Khan, and the other countries under his administration were divided among other officers of the court. The Moguls, encouraged by the death of Sheer Khan, recommenced their depredations in those provinces. The mutual jealousies and dissensions among the new and numerous governors were favourable to their incursions; and the King was obliged to appoint his eldest son, the Prince Mahomed, (at that time bearing the title of Taj-ool-Moolk, and afterwards known by the name of "the Martyr,") viceroy of the frontier provinces. At this time also he was publicly proclaimed the King's successor.

The Prince, accordingly, marched with a fine army, attended by some of the best generals in the service. He was a youth of promising talents, and evinced great taste in literature. With his own hand he made a choice collection of poetry, ex-

tracted from the most celebrated authors. This work contained twenty thousand couplets, which were esteemed the most select specimens of good taste then extant. Among the learned men at the Prince's court were Ameer Khoosrow* and Khwaja Hussun. These, with many more of his literary companions, accompanied him on this expedition to Lahore.

He was visited at Lahore by Sheikh Oothman Toormoozy, the most learned man of that age, but no presents or entreaties could prevail on him to remain out of his own country; so that, after a short stay, he returned to Tooran. We are told, that as he was one day reading one of his poems in Arabic before the Prince, all the poets who were present were transported with it, and the Prince himself shed tears. The fame of the celebrated Sheikh Sady, of Shiraz, reached the ears of the Prince Mahomed, who invited him twice to his court at Mooltan; but he excused himself on account of his age, and it was not without much importunity he was induced even to accept some presents. Sady, in return, sent to the Prince a copy of his works, and commended in high terms the abilities of Ameer Khoosrow, the Prince's favourite, and the president of his learned society. The Prince, every year, made a journey to see his father at Dehly, to whom he always behaved with the utmost filial affection and duty.

To his younger son, Kurra Khan, entitled Nasir-

* Ameer Khoosrow of Dehly was the tutor of this accomplished prince.

ood-Deen, the King made over Sumana and Soonam, as an estate. On his departure, the King advised him to recruit and discipline an army, to watch the movements of the Moguls; and warned him that, if ever he heard of his giving way to wine and his former debaucheries, he would certainly take away his estates, and never put confidence in him again. The Prince, adopting the advice of his father, entirely reformed his manners, and gave proofs that, though his mind had taken a wrong bias in his youth, he possessed great abilities. A place of rendezvous on the river Beea, near Lahore, was appointed, in case of invasion from the north-west, where the two princes were to join the imperial army from Dehly. Every thing seemed now in perfect security throughout the empire, when Toghrul Khan, who was entrusted with the government of Bengal, revolted.

A. H. 678. A. D. 1279. In the year 678, this bold and enterprizing chief led an army against the raja of Jajnuggur*, and others in that neighbourhood, whom he defeated, carrying off some hundreds of elephants, and much wealth. Of this spoil he made no report to the King, who at the time laboured under a fit of severe sickness, so that the news of his death was spread abroad. This intelligence having reached the ears of Toghrul, he assumed the scarlet canopy, with other royal insignia, and declared himself King of Bengal. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, hearing of this, wrote him an order to return immediately to his alle-

* This place is on the banks of the Mahanudda, and was the capital of Orissa, or Orixa.

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giance; which producing no effect, he appointed Aluptugeen, entitled Ameer Khan (and surnamed the Hairy), then governor of Oude, to the government of Bengal. He also sent Teimoor Khan Shumsy, Mullik Taj-ood-Deen, and Jumal-ood-Deen Kandahary, and other generals to his assistance. Aluptugeen, joined by this force, crossed the Sirjoo, now called the Gagra, and proceeded towards Bengal, whence Toghrul Khan advanced to oppose him. Toghrul Khan employed his money so well among the troops of Aluptugeen, that he gained over many of the Toorky chiefs, and attacking the royalists, gave them a total overthrow. The King, hearing this news, bit his own flesh with vexation. He ordered Aluptugeen to be hanged at the gate of Oude, and despatched Mullik Tirmuny Toork with another army against the rebel. Nor was the fate of Mullik Tirmuny more fortunate than that of his predecessor: he was also defeated, and lost all his baggage and the public treasure.

The King now prepared to take the field in person, and gave orders to collect a fleet of boats, with all expedition, to carry his baggage down the river. In the mean time, under pretence of going on a hunting party, he went to Soonam and Samana, the province of his younger son, whom he brought with his army to Dehly, leaving Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal in charge of the government during his own absence. The King now crossed the Ganges without waiting for the dry season, and proceeded to Bengal by forced marches; but having met with much delay on account of the roads and the numerous rivers, Toghrul Khan had

time to collect a large army. With all his elephants, treasure, and effects, he evacuated Bengal, and took the route of Jajnuggur, with intention to remain there till the King should return to his capital.

Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun having reached Luknowty, remained there only a few days. He appointed Hissam-ood-Deen Vakeel (grandfather of the author of the history of Feroze Shah), governor of the province, and proceeded himself with his army towards Jajnuggur. At Soonargam, the zemindar of that place joined him, and promised to guard the river against Toghrul Khan, if he should endeavour to escape that way. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun continued his march with great expedition, but could gain no intelligence of the enemy. He therefore ordered Mullik Yar Beg Birlass, with 1000 chosen horse, to advance twenty miles in front of the army, to gain information; but in spite of all enquiry, no satisfactory accounts could for several days be obtained. One day, however, the brother of Mullik Yar Beg, Mullik Mookudur, afterwards known by the name of Toghrul Koosh (the slayer of Toghrul), governor of Kole, being out with 40 horse on a reconnoitring party, saw some bullocks with pack-saddles, and having seized the drivers, made enquiries about the enemy. They obstinately pretended ignorance; but the head of one of them being struck off, the rest fell on their faces, and confessed that they had just left his camp, which was about four miles farther on. Mullik Mookudur sent the drivers to Mullik Yar Beg's camp, that he might examine them in person,

and proceeded himself to reconnoitre the enemy. He saw, from a rising ground, the whole encampment extending over a plain, with the elephants and cavalry picketed, and every thing in apparent security. Having fixed his eye upon Toghrul's tents, which were pitched in the centre of the army, he determined to execute one of the boldest enterprizes perhaps ever attempted. He advanced at full speed, with only forty men into the camp, which he was permitted to enter, being taken for one of their own parties. He continued his course direct to the head-quarters, and then ordering his men to draw their swords, rushed into the great tent of audience, which was crowded with men of distinction, and cut down all those who attempted to oppose them, crying "Victory to Sooltan "Bulbun."

Toghrul Khan, who imagined he was surprized by the royal army, started from his throne in confusion, and cut his way through the tent to the rear. He mounted a horse without a saddle, and the cry having now spread through the camp, he was confirmed in his fears, and fled towards the river, with an intention of crossing and making his escape to Jajnuggur. Mullik Mookudur, having got sight of him as he fled, pursued him, and shot him with an arrow while in the act of swimming the stream. Toghrul fell from his horse, and Mullik Mookudur, plunging into the water, dragged him out by the hair, and cut off his head. At that very instant, seeing some of the enemy coming towards him, he hid the head in the sand, and sending the body into the stream, began to bathe

himself in the river. The party questioned him about their king, and then went off without suspicion.

Mullik Mookudur's party, in the mean time, having cut off every body they found in the royal tents, dispersed themselves in such a manner among the enemy, who were now in the utmost confusion, that most of them escaped in the crowd. Toghrul Khan being no where to be found, and the panic having run through the whole army, the flight became general, and each thought only of his personal safety. Those of the forty heroes who survived remained in the rear, till the enemy were quite gone off the field. They then came back, and chanced to meet Mullik Mookudur, with whom they returned to Mullik Yar Beg's camp, who instantly sent the head of Toghrul Khan to the King.

The King arrived the next day with the main army. He called to him the two gallant brothers, and commanded the youngest to relate the particulars of the exploit. He heard it with surprize, but instead of praising him, as he expected, he told him that his rashness was inconsistent with a due regard to prudence, and lectured much more to the same purpose. In a few days, however, he conferred high titles and honours on both brothers. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, finding the enemy had dispersed, returned to Bengal, and put to death every member of the rebel's family. He did not even spare his innocent women and children; and he carried his rigour so far as to order the execution of a hundred holy mendicants, together with

their chief Kullunder. * This man was in high favour with the rebel Toghrul, who had shortly before presented him with three maunds of gold to support his sacred fraternity. Gheias-ood-Deen having appointed his son, Kurra Khan, King of Bengal, bestowed on him the ensigns of royalty, and the spoils of Toghrul Khan, except the elephants and treasure, with which he himself returned to Dehly. The King was absent on this expedition altogether three years. After his return, he conferred dignities upon Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, who had ruled Dehly with great wisdom during his absence. He then visited the learned men at their own houses, made them rich presents, and, at their instigation, published an act of grace to all insolvent public debtors who were in confinement, striking off, at the same time, all old balances of revenues due to the crown. Notwithstanding this appearance of humanity, either the policy or natural cruelty of his disposition rendered him unmerciful to all rebels. He ordered posts to be erected in the market-place for the execution of the prisoners taken in the late expedition; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the kazies, mufties, and learned men, proceeding in a body to petition, obtained their pardon. The Prince Mahomed, having heard of his father's arrival, came from Mooltan to Dehly to visit him, and was received with the greatest affection. He had scarcely been at the capital three months, during which time his

* The English reader will recognise in this word the Calendar of the Arabian Nights.

father and he were inseparable, when news arrived that the Moguls had invaded Mooltan. The Prince hastened his departure to oppose them; but before he took leave, his father called him into a private apartment, and addressed him in the following manner. He told him, "that he himself had spent a long life in the administration and government of kingdoms; that by study and experience he had acquired some knowledge which might be of service to his son after his death, which, in the course of nature, must now soon happen."

"When you shall ascend the throne," said he, "consider yourself as the deputy of God. Have "a just sense of the importance of your charge. "Permit not any meanness of behaviour in your- "self to sully the lustre of your station, nor let "avaricious and low-minded men share your "esteem, or bear any part in your administration.

"Let your passions be governed by reason, and "beware of giving way to anger. Anger is dan- "gerous in all men, but in kings it is the in- "strument of death.

"Let the public treasure be expended in the "service of the state with that prudent economy, "yet benevolent liberality, which reason will "dictate to a mind like yours, ever intent on "doing good.

"Let the worship of God be inculcated by your "example, and never permit vice and infidelity to "go unpunished.

"Be ever attentive to the business of the state, "that you may avoid being imposed on by de-

" signing ministers. Make it your duty to see " that they execute your commands without the " least deviation or neglect, for it is through them " you must govern your people.

" Let your judges and magistrates be men of " capacity, religion, and virtue, that the light of " justice may illuminate your realms.

" Let no levity on your part, either in public or " private, detract from that important majesty " which exalts the character of a king; and let " every thing around you be so regulated as to " inspire that reverence and awe which will render " your person sacred, and contribute to enforce " respect to your commands.

" Spare no pains to discover men of genius, " learning, and courage. You must cherish them " by kindness and munificence, that they may " prove the soul of your councils, and the in- " struments of your authority.

" Throw not down a great man to the ground " for a small crime, nor yet entirely overlook his " offence. Raise not a low man too hastily to a " high station, lest he forget himself, and be an " eye-sore to men of superior merit.

" Never attempt any thing, unless through ne- " cessity, but what you are sure to accomplish; " and having once determined upon a measure, let " your perseverance be never shaken, nor your " mind be ever averted from the object. For it is " better for a king to be obstinate, than pusil- " lanimous and vacillating; as in the first case " he may chance to be right, in the latter he is " sure to be wrong. Nothing more certainly in-

" dicates the weakness of a prince than a wavering " mind."

Having ended his instructions he embraced his son tenderly, and parted with him in tears. The Prince immediately marched against the enemy, and having expelled, with great slaughter, the Moguls who had invaded his province, recovered all the territories of which they had possessed themselves in his absence. The throne of Persia was at this time filled by Arghoon Khan, the son of Eibuk Khan, and grandson of Hoolakoo Khan, who had conquered that empire about the year 656. Teimoor Khan *, of the family of Chungiz Khan, a prince of great renown, ruled the eastern provinces of Persia from Khorassan to the Indus, and at this time invaded Hindoostan with twenty thousand chosen horse, to revenge the death of the Moguls who had been slain during the former year. Having ravaged the country about Depalpoor and Lahore, he directed his march towards Mooltan. The Prince Mahomed, then in Mooltan, hearing of his designs, hastened to the banks of the river of Lahore, which runs through part of the Mooltan province, and prepared to oppose him. When Teimoor Khan advanced to the river, he saw the Hindoostan army on the opposite bank; but the Prince, desirous of engaging so great a chief on equal terms, permitted Teimoor Khan to pass it unmolested.

* This person was governor of Ghizny, and must not be confounded with Ameer Teimoor Koorkan, known to us by the name of Tamerlane.

Both armies drew up in order of battle, and attacked each other with great spirit for the space of three hours, during which time both commanders were eminently distinguished. The Moguls being at last put to flight, the Indians followed them with too much eagerness. The Prince Mahomed, fatigued by the pursuit, halted on the banks of a stream, with 500 attendants, to drink, and having sated his thirst, fell prostrate upon the ground, to return God thanks for his victory.

At this time a Mogul chief, who had concealed himself with two thousand horse in a neighbouring wood, rushed upon his party. The Prince had only just time to mount, and collecting his small band, encouraged them by his example. They defended themselves desperately; but at length the Prince, overpowered by numbers, and having received several wounds (after having thrice obliged the Moguls to give ground), fell, and in a few minutes expired. A detachment of the Indian army appearing that instant, the Moguls took to flight. Few of the Prince's party survived this unfortunate conflict. Among those who fell into the hands of the Moguls was the Prince's favourite and tutor, Ameer Khoosrow, who procured his liberty in the way mentioned in his poem entitled Khizr Khany.

When the army returned from the pursuit of Teimoor Khan, and beheld their Prince weltering in his blood, the shouts of victory were changed to wailings of woe. Not a dry eye was to be seen from the meanest soldier to the general. The fatal news reached the old King, now in his

eightieth year, who was so much distressed, that life became irksome to him; but bearing up against his misfortune, he sent Kei Khoosrow, his grandson (the son of the deceased), to supply the place of his father. On his arrival at Mooltan, this Prince took the command of the army, and began to provide for the defence of the frontier.

The King, perceiving himself fast sinking from the weight of his affliction, sent for his son Kurra Khan from Bengal, and appointed him his successor; at the same time insisting, that he should continue with him at Dehly till his death, and appoint a deputy for his government of Bengal. To this Kurra Khan consented; but conceiving his father's illness was not likely to come so soon to a crisis as he expected, he returned to Bengal without acquainting him of his intention. This undutiful behaviour threw the old man into the deepest grief, and induced him to send for his grandson, Kei Khoosrow, from Mooltan. The Prince hastening to his presence, a council of the nobles was called, and the succession was changed in his favour, all of the officers promising to enforce Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun's last will, in favour of this young Prince. The King, in a few days, expired, in the year 685, after a reign of 21 years. Immediately upon the death of the Emperor, Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, chief magistrate of Dehly, having assembled the chiefs, and having been always at variance with the father of Kei Khoosrow, addressed them upon the present state of affairs. He stated that Kei Khoosrow was a young man

A. H. 685.
A.D. 1286.

of a violent and untractable disposition, and therefore unfit to reign; he also observed, that the power of the Prince Kurra Khan was so great, that a civil war was to be apprehended if the succession should not be continued in his family, and that, consequently, as the father was absent, it would be most prudent for the nobles to place the reins of government in the hands of his son Keikobad, a prince of mild disposition, and then present in Dehly. So great was the influence of this minister at the time, that he procured the throne for Keikobad; and Kei Khoosrow, glad to escape with life, returned to his former government of Lahore.

In the glorious reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, there flourished at Dehly, besides the great men we have already mentioned, the learned and celebrated Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Musaood, entitled Shukurgunj; Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen Zacharia, and his son; also Sheikh Budr-ood-Deen Aarif of Ghizny, the philosopher; the learned and holy Kootb-ood-Deen Bukhtyar Kaky; Siddy Mowla, and many more, eminent in various branches of science and literature.

KEIKOBAD.

His person described — his propensities. — Nizam-ood-Deen, the minister's son, forms a design on the throne — procures Kei Khoosrow, the King's cousin, to be murdered. — Encreasing power of Nizam-ood-Deen — cuts off several of the Mogul officers in the army, and seizes their property. — The King refuses to listen to the complaints against Nizam-ood-Deen. — Kurra Khan, the King's father, is induced to march from Bengal to assert his claim to the throne — abandons his title, but requests a meeting with his son. — Description of the visit. — Kurra Khan persuades his son to remove Nizam-ood-Deen from his presence. — Nizam-ood-Deen appointed governor of Mooltan — delays his journey — the King procures him to be poisoned. — New administration. — The King falls sick. — Two parties at court — the one composed of Moguls, the other of the family of Khiljy. — The Moguls endeavour to seize the leader of the Khiljies — obtain possession of the Prince Keiomoors, an infant, the King's only son. — Khiljies rescue the child, and expel the Moguls — their leader is slain. — Julal-ood-Deen Khiljy, the chief of the opposite party, procures the assassination of the King in his sick bed. — Ascends the throne. — End of the dynasty of the Toorks of Ghoor.

As soon as the late King was numbered with the dead, his grandson, Keikobad, the son of Nasir-ood-Deen, Kurra Khan, then in his eighteenth year, ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Moiz-ood-Deen. This prince was remarkably handsome in his person, and of an affable and mild disposition. He had a taste for literature, and his knowledge of books was considerable. His mother was a beautiful princess, daughter of Shums-ood-Deen Alt-

mish; and if purity of blood is of any real worth, Keikobad had that to boast of for a series of generations.

As he had been bred up with great rigour under his father, when he became master of his own actions, he began to give a loose to pleasure without restraint. His own pursuits soon became the fashion at court, and in a short time licentiousness and vice prevailed to such an extent, that every shady grove was filled with women and parties of pleasure, and every street rung with riot and tumult, so that even the magistrates were seen drunk in public, and music was heard in every house.

The King, having fitted up a palace at Kelookery, on the banks of the Jumna, retired thither to enjoy himself undisturbed, admitting no company but singers, players, musicians, and buffoons. Mullik Nizam-ood-Deen, nephew and son-in-law of the Ameer-ool-Omra (Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal), was raised to the office of chief secretary, and got the reins of government into his hands, while Mullik Kowam-ood-Deen, more celebrated for his learning than for his qualities as a statesman, was appointed his deputy. Nizam-ood-Deen, perceiving the King wholly engrossed by his pleasures, formed a design to usurp the throne. The first object of his attention was Kei Khoosrow. That Prince had gone to Ghizny, and endeavoured to induce Teimoor Khan, the viceroy of the province, to aid him with troops, in deposing his cousin, Keikobad; but he failed in the attempt; and, moreover, found that he had few friends in that

quarter. He therefore petitioned the King to be allowed to retain Mooltan, and the western provinces.

In the mean time Nizam-ood-Deen contrived to render this Prince as obnoxious as possible to the King. He prevailed on Kei Khoosrow to visit Dehly, and hired assassins for the purpose, who murdered him on his way to the capital, at the village of Rohtuk. Nizam-ood-Deen also forged a correspondence between Khwaja Khutteer the Vizier and Kei Khoosrow, and effected that minister's disgrace and banishment. Besides which, he caused all the old servants of the late King to be secretly cut off one after another, so that although general dismay prevailed throughout the city, none as yet suspected Mullik Nizam-ood-Deen as the cause.

In this state of affairs, advices arrived of another invasion of the districts of Lahore by the Moguls. Mullik Yar Beg Birlass and Khan Jehan were sent with an army against them; the Moguls were defeated near Lahore, and numbers of prisoners were brought to Dehly. It was at this period that the minister inspired the King with jealousy of his Mogul troops, who, as soldiers of fortune, had been enlisted in vast numbers into the service. He pretended that, in case of a Mogul invasion, they would certainly join their countrymen; and he insinuated, at the same time, that he believed there already existed some secret understanding between them.

Keikobad listened to these insinuations, and one day, having assembled the Mogul chiefs, he

caused them to be treacherously cut off by his guards, and seized all their private property. He also imprisoned all the omras who had any connection with the Moguls, and sent them to garrisons in remote parts of the kingdom. So blind was Keikobad to his own situation, and so infatuated by his minister, that when any of his father's friends hinted at the motives of the minister's conduct, he immediately called for Nizam-ood-Deen himself, and told him all that had been said against him.

While Mullik Nizam-ood-Deen was thus busily engaged in public and in the presence, his wife was no less active in the seraglio. She had all the ladies at her devotion; and gained such influence, that she was called familiarly the Queen-mother. Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, the father-in-law of Nizam-ood-Deen, now in his ninetieth year, having penetrated the designs of his son-in-law, the minister, sent for him to his house, and used every argument to restrain him in the exercise of his power. The minister did not deny the truth of his reasoning, but affirmed that he had no intentions beyond that of securing the King's favour; that having unfortunately disobliged so many people, he found it dangerous to allow his influence to decline.

Kurra Khan, the Emperor's father, who had hitherto contented himself with the kingdom of Bengal, having heard of the state of affairs at Dehly, wrote to his son, warning him of his danger, and advising him how to act. But his admonition was of no avail; and Kurra Khan, seeing not only that his advice was neglected, but

conceiving that matters must soon be brought to a crisis, collected his army, and marched towards Dehly, about two years after the death of his father, the late King. Keikobad, hearing that his father had advanced as far as Behar, marched to oppose him, and encamped his army upon the banks of the Gagra. Kurra Khan lay upon the Surjoo; and both armies remained some days in hourly expectation of an action. The old man, finding himself much inferior in power to his son, began to despair of reducing him by force, and accordingly opened a negotiation.

The young Prince assumed a haughty tone; and, by the advice of his minister, prepared for battle. At this moment, a letter was brought to the King from his father, written in his own hand, couched in the most tender and affectionate terms; begging he might be blessed with one sight of his son before matters were carried to extremities. This letter awakened the dormant feelings of his nature, and he gave orders to prepare his retinue, that he might visit his father. The favourite attempted in vain to prevent the interview; but finding the Prince resolute, he prevailed on him to insist, as King of Dehly, on the first visit; hoping, by this means, to break off the conference. His design, however, did not succeed; for Kurra Khan, determining not to be overreached by this device, consented to pay his son the first visit, and ordering the astrologers to determine on a lucky hour, he crossed the river, and proceeded towards his son's camp.

Keikobad, having prepared every thing for his

father's reception in the most pompous and ceremonious manner, ascended his throne, and gave directions that his father, on his approach, should kiss the ground three times. The old man, accordingly, on reaching the outer tents, was ordered to dismount; and when he came in sight of the throne, was commanded to pay his obeisance in three different places as he advanced, the officer of the gold stick crying out, according to custom, "Kurra Khan comes to humble himself before "the King of the universe."

Kurra Khan was so vexed at this indignity, that he burst into tears; which being observed by his son, he could no longer support the scene, but leaping from his throne, fell on his face at his father's feet, imploring his forgiveness and blessing. Kurra Khan raised him in his arms, embraced him, and for some time clung to his neck, weeping aloud. The whole scene was so affecting, that almost all the court began to wipe the tears from their eyes.

The first transports of joy being over, the young King caused his father to ascend the throne, and paying him his respects, took his seat on his right hand. He then ordered a salver full of gold coin to be waved three times over his father's head, and distributed it among his retainers; after which the nobles of the court were also required to make presents. This meeting being over, and Kurra Khan having returned to his camp, a friendly intercourse was maintained between the two princes for twenty days; during which the father and son alternately visited each other, and the

time was given up to festivity and joy. The only terms which were settled between the two kings were, that each should retain his former dominions, to which they both prepared to return. Before they separated, however, Kurra Khan called his son, the minister, and his deputy, into a private apartment, and gave them advice as to their future conduct in the government. Having then embraced Keikobad, he whispered in his ear, to rid himself of Nizam-ood Deen as soon as possible; after which they parted in tears, and returned to their respective capitals. Kurra Khan was much affected, and told his friends, on his return to his own camp, that he had parted with his son for ever, for he was still apprehensive of the minister, and of the wayward disposition of the young King.

When Keikobad arrived in Dehly, the advice of his father for a few days seemed to have had some influence on him, but it was not the interest of Nizam-ood-Deen that he should reform his habits. The minister, therefore, soon led him back to his pleasures; and for this purpose collected a number of beautiful women, graceful dancers, and good singers, from all parts of the kingdom, whom he occasionally introduced as if by accident. One day, while the King was riding out, he was accosted by a beautiful female mounted on a fine Arabian horse, with a tiara of jewels upon her head. A thin white robe, spangled with golden flowers, flowed loosely over her rounded shoulders, and a sparkling girdle of gems encircled her slender waist. This fair creature, throwing herself, as if by accident, in the King's way, dis-

played a thousand charms, while, at the same time, she sang a love song. Then, suddenly stopping short, she begged pardon for her intrusion, and would not, without much entreaty, proceed. The King was struck with her beauty, and immediately dismounting, ordered his tents to be pitched, and devoted that evening to her society. This female was as remarkable for her talent as for her beauty. While she was dancing, the King broke into rapture, and frequently repeated some verses alluding to her charms. She answered every time extempore, in the same measure, and with so much wit and elegance, that the whole court was astonished.

The King, abandoning himself to his former course of dissipation, wine, and excess, completely undermined his constitution, and he began to reflect on his father's advice. He now believed Nizam-ood-Deen to be the real cause of his present situation, and he formed the resolution to rid himself of that minister. In the first instance, he directed him to take charge of the government of Mooltan; but Nizam-ood-Deen, penetrating the King's motives, contrived many delays, in order to obtain a favourable opportunity to accomplish his own views towards the throne. His schemes, however, were frustrated by the King's vigilance, who, finding he could not remove him from his presence, employed some of the nobles of the court, known to be inimical to him, to poison him. At this conjuncture, Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, the son of Mullik Yooghrish Khiljy, who was deputy governor of Samana, came, by the King's orders,

to court, and there received the title of Shaista Khan, and became Aariz-ool-Moomalik*, with the district of Birm for his maintenance. Mullik Atmeer Kuchun was promoted to the office of Barbik†, and Mullik Atmeer Soorkha was created Vakeel-i-Dur.‡ These three officers divided the whole power of the government amongst them, the King having now become paralytic. In this state of affairs, every noble began to intrigue for power; and the Mogul omras, who professed attachment to the royal family, got possession of the Prince Keiomoors, an infant of three years of age (the King's only child), out of the haram, in order to place him on the throne. This gave rise to two factions, who encamped on opposite sides of the city. The Moguls espoused the cause of the young King, and the Khiljies that of Julal-ood-Deen Feroze. The latter marched with his party to Bahâdurpoor, a measure forced upon him by the opposite party, headed by Mullik Atmeer Kuchun, and Mullik Atmeer Soorkha, who, jealous of the power of the Khiljies, had issued a proclamation proscribing by name all the principal Khiljian officers.

* Aariz-ool Moomalik is the officer through whom petitions are presented.

† Barbik is a Turkish title for one of the classes of the gold stick: it may be rendered by the title "gentleman usher," in the courts of Europe.

‡ Vakeel-i-Dur was the officer who superintended the ceremonies of presentation. All persons of rank were first brought into his apartments, and remained there till the King was prepared to give audience. It answers to the kapoochy-bashy of the Ottoman court.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, the first on the list, naturally placed himself in a posture of defence. Mullik Atmeer Kuchun had been deputed by the Mogul party to invite Julal-ood-Deen Feroze to a conference with the sick King, when a plot was formed for his assassination; but having obtained secret information of the measure, he slew the person who came to invite him, with his own hand, at the door of his tent. The sons of Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, renowned for their courage, immediately put themselves at the head of 500 chosen horse, and making an assault on the camp of the Moguls, cut their way to the royal tents, pitched in the centre of the army, and seizing the infant king, carried him off, together with the sons of Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, in spite of opposition. Mullik Atmeer Soorkha pursued them in their flight, but lost his life in the attempt, with many other Mogul chiefs of distinction. When this exploit became known in the city, the mob flew to arms. They marched out in thousands, and encamping at the Budaoon gate, prepared to go against Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, and rescue the infant King, for they greatly dreaded the power of the Khiljies. Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, the old minister, so often mentioned in the former reign, dreading lest this step should lead to the death of the young Prince, and of his own sons, who were in the hands of the Khiljies, exerted his great influence and authority among the people, and, with some difficulty, induced them to disperse. Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, in the mean time, sent assassins to cut off the Emperor

Keikobad, who lay sick at Kelookery. The ruffians found him lying on his bed, in a dying state, entirely deserted by all his attendants. They beat out his brains with bludgeons, and then, rolling him up in the bed-clothes, threw him out of the window into the river. The chief assassin was a Tartar of some family, whose father had been unjustly put to death by Keikobad, and who willingly undertook the office out of revenge. After the commission of this horrid act, Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Feroze ascended the throne, assuming the title of Julal-ood-Deen, and thus put an end to the dynasty of Ghoory, and established that of Khiljy; Jujhoo, nephew to Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, and deemed the rightful heir to the throne, having the district of Kurra conferred on him for his maintenance. Julal-ood-Deen Feroze now occupied the palace, and was proclaimed King with great solemnity; but, to complete his cruel policy, he, in the end, caused the young prince to be put to death.

A. H. 687. A. D. 1288. This revolution happened in the year 687; the reign of Keikobad having lasted rather more than three years. Eternity belongs only to God, the great Sovereign of the universe.

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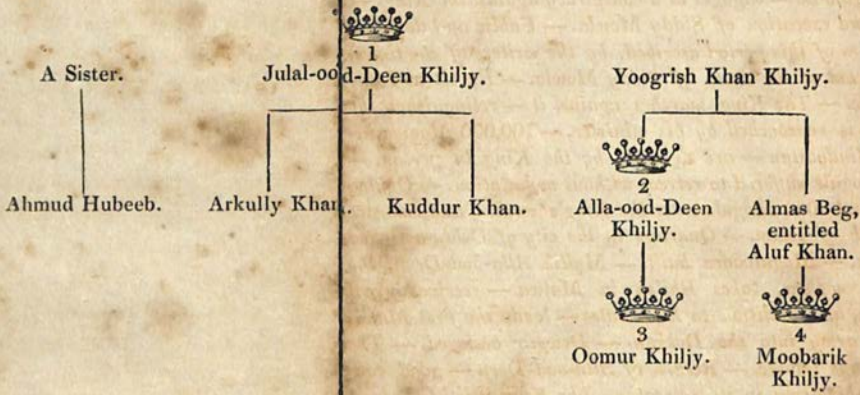
SECOND TARTAR DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY,

DENOMINATED KHILJY.



JULAL-OOD-DEEN FEROZE KHILJY.

Origin of the tribe of Khiljy. — Julal-ood-Deen puts to death the Prince Keiomoors. — Measures taken to form a new ministry. — The King affects remorse for his conduct, and respect for the late dynasty. — Manners of the court. — Encouragement to men of letters. — A relative of the late King sets up claims to the throne — is defeated, but pardoned, and an estate conferred on him. — The King's lenity reprobated by his clansmen — its ill effects. — Arrival of one Siddy Mowla, a religious fanatic — engages in a conspiracy against the King. — Trial and execution of Siddy Mowla. — Public and domestic calamities of this period ascribed, by the writers of the times, to arise out of the death of Siddy Mowla. — Revolt at Runtunbhore. — The King marches against it — relinquishes the siege — is reproached by his minister. — 100,000 Moguls invade Hindoostan — are defeated by the King in person. — The Moguls suffered to retreat without molestation. — Oghloo Khan and 3000 Moguls enter the King's service, and embrace the faith of Islam. — Quarters in the city of Dehly assigned to them. — Mogulpoora built. — Mullik Alla-ood-Deen, the King's nephew, takes Bhilsa in Malwa — receives great honours, and addition to his estates — leads the first Mahomedan army into the Dekkan. — Dewgur besieged. — The Raja pays tribute. — Return of Alla-ood-Deen — good conduct of his army in its retreat. — The King is led to suspect that Alla-ood-Deen has designs on the throne — is warned both by his Queen and his minister against him. — The King marches to Gualiar to meet his nephew, and to ascertain his real views — is deceived by Alla-ood-Deen — retires to Dehly. — Alla-ood-Deen leads his army to his estate of Kurra. — Almas Beg, the brother of Alla-ood-Deen, employed by him to effect a reconciliation, and to bring the King to Kurra. — Julal-ood-Deen proceeds to meet his nephew — is assassinated.

NIZAM-OOD-DEEN AHMUD relates, that he has seen, in some respectable work, that the tribe of Khulich

or Kalij, is descended from Khulich Khan, a son-in-law of Chungiz Khan, and that his history is this. Kalij Khan and his wife constantly disagreed, but he was afraid of throwing her off on account of the power of his father-in-law. At length, when Chungiz, having pursued Julal-ood Deen Khwaruzm Shah to the banks of the Indus, was on his return towards Eeran and Tooran, Kalij Khan, being well acquainted with the mountainous country of Ghoor and Joorjistan, watched his opportunity to throw off his allegiance to Chungiz Khan, and remained with his tribe, amounting to 30,000 families, in those hills. Upon the death of Chungiz Khan, none of his descendants thought fit to persecute Kalij Khan, who remained ever since in those hills; and, as the race of Ghoor was now seated on the throne of India, the Khiljies, on account of their vicinity, went to Dehly in parties, and remained there. Julal-ood-Deen Khiljy of Dehly, and Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Mando, are both descended from Kalij Khan, vulgarly called Khalij Khan, and from him the tribe is called Khiljy. But, according to the author of the Suljook-nama, Toork, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, had eleven children, one of whom was called Khulich; and from him are descended the Khilchies or Khiljies. I conceive this account the most probable of the two, because the Khiljies are often mentioned in the histories of the kings of Ghizny, particularly in the reigns of Subooktugeen and Sooltan Mahmood; and it is certain, that they existed anterior to the time of Chungiz Khan; but it

is possible that Kalij Khan might be of the tribe of Khiljy, and that the father of Julal-ood-Deen, and the ancestor of Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, may have both been descended in a direct line from him.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, at first, preserved, for some months, the young Prince Keiomoors alive, as a cloak to his usurpation; but having established himself firmly in his government, he caused him to be put to death. He was himself seventy years of age when he ascended the throne. He changed the colour of the royal umbrella from red to white; and was guilty of no further acts of cruelty, after the death of the young Prince, but became distinguished for his humanity and benevolence. He had no great confidence in the loyalty of the people of Dehly, and therefore resided at Kelookery, which he strengthened with fortifications, and beautified with fine gardens and terraced walks by the side of the river. The omras, following the King's example, built palaces around, so that Kelookery became known by the name of the new city. Yooghrish Khan, the King's brother, was appointed Aariz-ool-Moomalik: the King's eldest son, Yekhtyar-ood-Deen, received the title of Khan Khanan, and the second son that of Urkully Khan*; on each of whom estates were conferred, and they maintained separate establishments.

In like manner the King took under his especial protection his two nephews, Alla-ood-Deen and Almas Beg, the sons of his brother, Shahab-ood-Deen Musaood. He raised the former to high

* I have been unable to satisfy myself as to the true reading of this word.

rank in the army, and the latter, who is known under the title of Alugh Khan, was made Master of the Horse (Akhoor Beg). He also appointed his nephew, Mullik Ahmud Hubeeb (his sister's son), to the office of Barbik. Mullik Khoorum was nominated Ameer-i-Dur, Khwaja Khuteer was made Prime Minister, and Fukhr-ood-Deen Mullik-ool-Omra retained his office of Kotwal.*

The chiefs and nobles of Dehly, who had for sixty years paid obeisance to the throne of the Toorks, and had always revolted at the idea of subjection to the Khiljies, forgot for the moment their wonted animosity to this race, and were so well pleased with the commencement of the reign of Feroze Khiljy, that they resorted to the new city of Dehly, and ranged themselves around his throne.

After being well satisfied of the disposition of all classes towards him, the King left Kelookery, and entered old Dehly in great pomp at the head of a splendid retinue. On arriving at the palace, he prostrated himself twice before the threshold, and then having ascended the throne, raised his eyes and hands to heaven, in the sight of the court, and exclaimed with a loud voice, "How shall I ever "be able to acquit myself of the gratitude I owe "to my God for these great benefits; who hath "raised me to that throne, before which I have "been accustomed all my life to bow down, and "who hath preferred me to this dignity, while

* The office of Kotwal embraces the regulation of the town police, and the public market. The kotwal also regulates the hire of cattle, and provides carriage for the government and for travellers.

" my compeers, many of whom are equally, and even " more deserving, stand around with their arms " folded, in token of obedience." From thence he went towards the " Ruby Palace," where he dismounted, as usual, at the outer gate. His nephew, Ahmud Hubeeb, observed, " Now that this palace " belongs to your Majesty, why do you dismount at " the outer gate." He replied, " Under every cir- " cumstance, respect is due to my former Prince " and patron Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, who in- " habited this palace." His nephew Ahmud Hubeeb said, " Your Majesty will, at all events, " of course, make it your dwelling." The King answered by saying, " This palace was built by " Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, when he was only a " noble of the state, it is therefore the private " property of his family, and I have no right to occupy it." His nephew observing, that " he would " find such minute distinctions inconsistent with " the great duties of a throne," the King said, " It " might be so; but that considering his age, and " the few years which, in the course of nature, were " allotted to him, he could invade no man's pro- " perty without compunction of conscience." He accordingly continued to proceed on foot through the several court-yards, and even when he entered the hall of audience, he took a seat on the spot where he was accustomed to stand among the nobles. He then said, " May God confound the house of " Atmeer Kuchun, and Atmeer Soorkha, who, by " aiming at my life, compelled me, from motives of " self-preservation, to adopt these measures. Had " this not been the case, I had still been in my

" former station, and God knows how far that was " removed from the throne of Dehly. I was " content to have passed my life with the title " of Mullik or Khan, but having attained this ele- " vation, I am now astounded to think how I shall " fill it. For since, in spite of the munificence " and talents of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun and his " posterity, they were unable to retain the reins " of government in their hands, how shall I be " able to support the office to which I am raised. " God only knows, how it may fare either with " me or my descendants." Some of the nobles of the court, famed for their experience and wisdom, held down their heads, and seemed lost in deep reflection, while others, young and bold, said to each other, " This is a strange sort of a king, who " has hardly placed his foot on the throne, but " he begins to think on the chance of losing it " again. How will he ever bring himself to " assume that bold and prompt line of conduct " which dares to punish, and seeks to remunerate, " when circumstances require him to do so?" In the evening of the same day, the King returned to the new city, where, for the present, he resided; and shortly after, he bestowed in marriage his two daughters (both remarkable for their beauty) on his nephews, whom he had taken under his protection, viz. Alla-ood-Deen, and Almas Beg, (the latter) entitled Alugh Khan.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze Khiljy was celebrated during his reign for many amiable qualities, and particularly for his mercy and benevolence. He hardly ever punished a fault among his dependents,

and was never known to lay violent hands on the property of his wealthy subjects, as is too often the case with despotic monarchs. He was in the habit of associating familiarly, even after his accession, with his former acquaintances, and joining their parties, and drinking wine in moderation with them, the same as before.

The following persons are those whom he honoured with his personal friendship, and who were among his principal private associates: —

Mullik-Taj-ood-Deen Koochy.
Mullik-Fukhr-ood-Deen Koochy.
Mullik-Eiz-ood-Deen Ghoory.
Mullik Kurra Beg.
Mullik-Noosrut Subbah.
Mullik-Ahmud Hubeeb.
Mullik-Kumal-ood-Deen, Abool Maaly.
Mullik-Nusseer-ood-Deen Kohramy.
Mullik-Saad-ood-Deen Muntuky.*

* It is instructive and interesting to trace throughout this work the various distinctions which marked the several races of conquerors in the appellations belonging to their chiefs. Thus, among the early Arabians, we find the simple title of "Sheikh," with the family surname appended, or some distinguishing characteristic of the individual. The caliphs first brought into use those high-sounding titles, the cheap but valued reward of military merit; such as, "The Commander of those to be saved," "The Lion of God," "The Sword of the Lord," "The Defender of the Faith," "The Splendour of Religion," "The Glory of the Faithful," "The Strength of the Government," "The Right Arm of the State," with numerous others. The northern races, from the regions of Tartary, seem each to have had some peculiar title. In the time of the Samany kings, we find the affix of "Tash" and "Tugeen" to prevail.

These persons were distinguished as well for their courage and sense as for their wit and good humour.

The following learned men were also frequently admitted to the King's private parties: —

Taj-ood-Deen Eeraky.
Ameer-Khoosrow.
Khwaja-Hussun.
Moveiud Deewana.
Ameer-Arslan Kulamy.
Yekhtyar-ood-Deen Yaghy.
Baky Khuteer.

All these were distinguished for their erudition, and were authors of works of poetry, of history, or of science.

These parties were usually enlivened by the best singers, such as Ameer Khassa, and Humeed Raja; and the best instrumental performers; such as

Mahomed Shah Hutky.
Futtoo Shah.
Nusseer Khan.
Behroze.

Ameer Khoosrow hardly allowed a party to

The Suljook Toorkmans introduced the word "Beg or Bey," to the south; the Moguls brought that of "Khan;" while the race of Khiljy, of whose origin we have so little satisfactory information, but which we must believe to have adopted Afghan habits, at the period we are now about to treat, seem to have been partial to the appellation of "Mullik" or "Malech," a title they used in common with the Jews, from whom the Afghans pretend to derive their origin.

take place, without having prepared some new poetry or song for the occasion, for which he was usually rewarded on the spot. During the time Julal-ood-Deen Khiljy held the office of Aariz-ool-Moomalik, in the reign of the late King (Keikobad), he settled a pension on Ameer Khoosrow; but now having appointed him librarian, he was raised to the rank of an ameer, and was permitted to wear white garments, a distinction confined to the blood-royal, and to the nobles of the court. In the second year of his reign, Mullik Jujhoo, the nephew of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, at the instigation of Ameer Ally the master of the robes, who held the government of Oude under the new title of Hatim Khan, assumed royal privileges in his government of Kurra, caused new coin to be struck, and a white canopy to be placed over his head, and proclaimed himself King, under the title of Sooltan Moogheis-ood-Deen. He was joined by most of the nobles of the house of Bulbun, as well as by several rajas of consequence in that quarter. With these reinforcements, he had the boldness to march towards Dehly.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, hearing of these events, appointed his son the Prince Arkully Khan, with a select body of Khiljian cavalry, to proceed in advance, himself following with the main army, against the rebels. Arkully Khan encountered the enemy about twenty-five miles from the city, and repulsed them after an obstinate engagement. Several omras were made prisoners during the pursuit, among whom was Ameer Ally, the governor of Oude. These were placed on camels,

with boughs of trees hung round their necks, and in that condition sent to his father. When Julal-ood-Deen Feroze saw them, he instantly ordered them to be unbound, to have a change of linen given them, and an entertainment to be provided; and having called them before him, repeated a verse to this purpose: "Evil for evil is easily "returned, but he only is great who returns good "for evil." They were then commanded to retire, in full assurance of his forgiveness. Jujhoo, some days after, being taken by the zemindars, was sent prisoner to the King, who instead of condemning him to death, as was expected, gave him a free pardon, and sent him to Mooltan, where he had a handsome establishment for life.

The King's lenity was universally condemned by the Khiljy chiefs, who strongly recommended him to adopt the policy of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, never to pardon a traitor. They said, at all events, the rebels should be deprived of sight, to deter them from further mischief, and as an example to others. If this were not done, they asserted, that treason would soon raise its head in every quarter of the empire; and, should the Moguls once gain the superiority, they would erase the very name of Khiljy out of Hindoostan. The King answered, that what they said was certainly according to the ordinary rules of policy; but, my friends, said he, "I am now old, and I "wish to go down to the grave without shedding "more blood."

The King's mistaken lenity seems to have soon produced the effect which these chiefs foresaw.

Clemency is a virtue which descends from God; but the degenerate children of India of that age did not deserve it. The King's sentiments having become public, no security was any longer found. The streets and highways were infested by thieves and banditti. Housebreaking, robbery, murder, and every other species of crime, was committed by many who adopted them as a means of subsistence. Insurrections prevailed in every province; numerous gangs of freebooters interrupted commerce, and even common intercourse. Add to which, the King's governors neglected to render any account, either of their revenues or of their administration.

The Khiljy chieftains, deeply affected by these proceedings, did not hesitate to refer the whole blame to their sovereign. They even began to consult about deposing him, and raising to the throne Mullik Taj-ood-Deen Koochy, a man of some influence, and of great promptness and resolution. For this purpose they met one day at his house, and, in their cups, began openly to talk of assassinating the King, and even went so far as to dispute which of them should have the glory of striking the blow. While in this situation, one of the company privately withdrew, and, running to Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, repeated circumstantially every particular of what had passed. The King immediately sent a guard to surround the house, which seized the conspirators, and brought them before the King. He upbraided them with their treason, and having drawn his sword, threw it on the ground, and challenged the boldest of them to

wield it against him; but they fell on their faces, and remained silent and confounded. One of them, however, Mullik Noosrut, who had more assurance and presence of mind than the rest, told the King, that words uttered by men in a state of intoxication were but as the empty air. "Where "shall we ever find," said he, "so good and gra- "cious a sovereign; or where can the King hope "to obtain such faithful servants, should he con- "demn us for a little unguarded sally?" The King, pleased with this mode of treating the affair, smiling, called for wine, and after giving him a cup with his own hand, dismissed the whole, not without severely reproaching them with their conduct. *

The execution of the Dervish Siddy Mowla is one of the most remarkable events in this reign. This event has been thus transmitted to us through the histories of Zeea Burny and Sudr Jehan, of Guzerat.

Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, of Dehly, died about this time. His death reduced to poverty many of the ancient families of the time of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, which he had long supported at his own private expense. Among others, were 12,000 readers of the Koran, and some thousand domestic dependents. All these looked to Siddy Mowla for their maintenance. According to

* Those persons who have had an opportunity of being acquainted with the equality maintained by Mahomedans in India towards each other, under all circumstances, and especially the Afghans, will be capable of appreciating the truth of this picture.

Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen Beejapoory, this holy man, in the character of a religious mendicant, had travelled from Joorjan, in Persia, to the west, where he visited various countries, and had kept company with men famous for piety and learning. He then returned, and eventually came to Hindoostan to visit Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen, Shukr-Gunj, with whom he resided for some time. In the reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, having an inclination to see Dehly, he took leave of his friend, who strenuously advised him to cultivate no intimacy with the great men of the court, telling him, such connection would, in the end, prove fatal to him.

Siddy Mowla arrived at Dehly, and instituted an academy, and a house of entertainment for travellers, fakeers, and the poor of all denominations, turning none away from his door. Though very religious, and brought up in the Mahomedan faith, yet he adopted some particular doctrines of his own, which caused him to neglect attendance at public worship. He kept no women, nor slaves, and lived upon rice only; yet his expences, in charity, were so great, that, as he never accepted of any presents, men were astonished whence his finances were supplied, and actually believed that he understood the science of alchemy. After the death of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, he became still more extravagant, not only bestowing larger sums in charity, but expending more profusely in his entertainments, which were now frequented by all the great men of the city. He made nothing of bestowing 2000 or 3000 pieces of gold to relieve the wants of any noble family in distress. In short,

he displayed more magnificence in his feasts than the princes themselves. Some idea may be formed of his charities when we find it asserted, that he expended daily, upon the poor, about 1000 maunds of flour, 500 maunds of meat, 200 maunds of sugar, besides rice, oil, butter, and other necessaries in proportion. The populace usually crowded his gates daily in such numbers that it was scarcely possible to pass; besides which, the King's sons, and other princes of the court, resorted to him with their retinues, and spent whole days and nights either in festivity or in philosophical conversation. To these expences (after the death of Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal) the Dervish Siddy Mowla added the maintenance of the numerous dependents of the Kotwal. At this time, also, Kazy Julal-ood-Deen Kashany, a man of intriguing disposition, having obtained the entire confidence of Siddy Mowla, began to inspire the philosopher with views of ambition. He told him, that the people looked on him as sent from God to deliver the kingdom from the tyranny and oppression of the Khiljies, and to bless Hindoostan with a wise and just government.

Siddy Mowla suffered himself to be deluded, and privately began to bestow titles and offices upon his disciples, and to assume a tone and manner sufficiently indicative of his design on the throne. He engaged Meer Mohsun Kotwal and Nutty Pyhlwan, two of his followers, to join in the King's retinue on Friday, as he went to the public mosque, and to assassinate him; while he himself prepared about 10,000 of his adherents to

support his usurpation. One of his followers, however, dissatisfied with the part assigned to him in the approaching revolution, went privately to the King, and disclosed the plot.

The King caused both Siddy Mowla and Kazy Julal-ood-Deen Kashany to be apprehended, and brought before him for examination. They persisted in their innocence, and as no other witness appeared against them, the accusation was rendered doubtful. The King, therefore, caused a fire to be prepared in the plain of Bahadurpoor, in order that they might be submitted to the fiery ordeal to purge themselves of their guilt; and having left the city to see the ceremony, he ordered a circle to be railed off round the pile.

Siddy Mowla, and the others accused, were then brought, in order that they might walk through the flames to prove their innocence. Having said their prayers, they were just about to plunge into the fire, when the King stopped them, and turning to his ministers, asked, if it was lawful to try Mussulmans by the fiery ordeal? They unanimously declared, that it was the nature of fire to consume, paying no respect to the righteous more than to the wicked; and they also pronounced the practice to be heathenish, and contrary to the Mahomedan law, as well as to reason.

The King now directed Kazy Julal-ood-Deen Kashany to be sent prisoner to Budaoon, and Siddy Mowla to be confined in a vault under the palace, and two other men, who had engaged to perpetrate the King's assassination, to be publicly executed. At the same time, he banished a number of those

who were suspected of being accessaries. While the police were carrying Siddy Mowla through the court to his prison, the King pointed him out to some Kalendars who stood near the throne, and said, "Behold the man who was projecting such "an evil against us. I leave him to be judged by "you, according to his deserts." At these words, a Kalendar, whose name was Sunjurry, started forth, and running towards the prisoner, began to cut him with a razor.

Sidda Mowla, without offering resistance, entreated him to be more expeditious in sending him to God. He then addressed himself to the King, who was looking over the balcony, and said, "I "am rejoiced that you have thought of putting a "period to my life at once; yet it is sinful "to distress the pious and the innocent; and be "assured that my curse will lie heavy upon you "and your unfortunate posterity." The King, hearing these words, became pensive and perplexed. His son, the Prince Arkully Khan, who hated Siddy Mowla for the great intimacy which existed between him and his elder brother, Khan Khanan, seeing the Emperor's irresolution, beckoned to an elephant rider, who was in the court ready mounted, to advance, and tread Siddy Mowla to death. Zeea Burny, the author of the history of Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, informs us that he himself was then in Dehly, and that immediately after the death of Siddy Mowla, a black whirlwind arose, which, for the space of half an hour, changed day into night, and drove the people in the streets

against one another, so that they could scarce grope their way to their own habitations.

The same author relates, that no rain fell in these provinces during that year, A.H. 690; and a famine ensued, by which thousands of Hindoos daily died in the streets and highways, while whole families drowned themselves in the river.

A. H. 690.
A. D. 1291.

The prosperity of the King began visibly to decline; for every day new factions and disputes arose, which greatly disturbed his administration. Domestic calamities also pressed hard upon him, among which was the illness of his eldest son Khan Khanan. Medicines were of no avail; and the distemper gaining ground, that Prince fell a victim to the disease in a few days.

The King, after the decease of his son, marched his army towards Runtunbhore, to quell an insurrection in those parts, leaving his son Arkully Khan in Dehly, to manage affairs in his absence. The enemy retired into the fort of Runtunbhore, and the King reconnoitred the place, but, despairing of reducing it, marched towards Oojein, which he sacked. At the same time, also, he broke down many of the temples of Malwa, and after plundering them of much wealth, returned to Runtunbhore. He summoned the fort a second time; but finding the Raja paid no attention to his threats, he gave orders to undermine the walls. But again wavering in his resolution, he decamped, saying, that he found the place could not be taken without the loss of many lives, and therefore he would lay aside the design. Mullik Ahmud

Hubeeb, his nephew and minister, replied, that kings, in the time of war, should make no account of such things, when compelled to exertion by justice, and the necessity of supporting their authority, as was in this instance plainly the case. The King, becoming angry, observed, "These even "may be my own sentiments; but I have often told "you," said he, "that being now on the brink of "the grave, I am unwilling to entail the curse of "widows and orphans upon me in a reign of a few "days." He accordingly continued his march to Dehly.

A. H. 691. A. D. 1292. In the year 691, one of the kinsmen of Hoolakoo Khan, grandson of the great Chungiz Khan, invaded Hindoostan with ten tomans of Moguls (a toman signifying 10,000 horse). Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, having received advices of the approach of the enemy, collected his army and moved forward to oppose them. On reaching the frontiers of Beiram*, the Moguls were perceived in front beyond a small river. Both armies encamped for the space of five days upon either side of this stream, during which time their advanced posts skirmished frequently, with some losses on either side. At length, as if by mutual consent, they selected an extensive plain on which on the sixth morning they drew up in order of battle, and fought a general action. The Moguls, after an obstinate contest, were defeated, many of their chiefs slain, and about a thousand prisoners taken. Among the latter were two

* This is, probably, some error in all my manuscripts.

omras, and several officers of distinction. The King, however, did not avail himself of the victory, but granted peace to the invaders, with permission to withdraw from his dominions. The Moguls having gladly accepted these terms, presents were interchanged as tokens of amity. When the Moguls retreated, Oghloo Khan, a grandson of Chungiz Khan, perceiving that he had little chance of power or distinction among the many blood relations of that warrior who were still alive, induced 3000 of his countrymen to join Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, whose daughter was given to him in marriage.

These Moguls all became Mahomedans. The King, about this time, having appointed his son, Arkully Khan, viceroy of Lahore, Mooltan, and Sind, and having left a strong force with him, returned himself to his capital. To Oghloo Khan, and the rest of the Moguls, was allotted a spot, near Gheiaspoor, the burial-place of Sheikh Nizam-ood-Deen Owlia, where they settled, and which is called Mogulpoora to this day.

A. H. 692. A. D. 1293. In the year 692, the King marched against the Hindoos in the neighbourhood of Mando, and having devastated the country in that vicinity, returned to Dehly. In the mean time, Mullik Alla-ood-Deen, the King's nephew, governor of Kurra, requested permission to attack the Hindoos of Bhilsa, who infested his province. Having obtained leave, he marched in the same year to that place, which he subdued; and having pillaged the country, returned with much spoil, part of which was sent to the King.

Among other things there were two brazen idols, which were thrown down before the Budaoon gate of Dehly, to be trodden under foot.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze was much pleased with the success and conduct of his nephew on this expedition, for which he rewarded him with princely presents, and annexed the province of Oude to his former government of Kurra.

Alla-ood-Deen, upon this preferment, acquainted the King that there were some princes of great wealth towards Chundery, whom (if the King would give permission) he would reduce. The King was induced to consent to this measure from the account he had learnt of the riches of those rajas; but the object of Alla-ood-Deen appears to have been to establish an independent power. He was narrowly watched, however, by Mullika Jehan, the King's favourite wife, who suspected him of being too ambitious, and warned the King that Alla-ood-Deen aimed eventually at fixing himself in an independent sovereignty in some remote part of India. Accordingly, in the year 693, A. H. 693. A. D. 1294. after taking leave of the King at Dehly, Alla-ood-Deen proceeded towards Kurra, where he enlisted many chiefs of distinction, who had formerly been dependents of the Bulbun family. He then marched with 8000 chosen horse, by the nearest road, against Ram Dew, Raja of the Deccan*, who possessed the wealth of a long line of kings.

* Ferishta, following annalists of the day, styles Ram Dew of Dewgur, or Devagiry (now called Dowltabad), Raja of the Deccan. He was, probably, a king of Maharahstra, the country throughout which the Marratta or Maharahstra language prevails.

Alla-ood-Deen arriving on the Deccan frontier, pressed forward towards the capital. The first place of any consequence which he reached was Elichpoor, where having made a short halt to refresh his army, he moved by forced marches to Dewgur, the lower town of which was not entirely fortified, the outer wall being then incomplete. When the news of Alla-ood-Deen's progress reached the Raja, he, together with his son Shunkul Dew, was absent in a distant part of his dominions: the Raja hastened his return, and endeavoured to intercept the enemy with a numerous army. For this purpose, he threw himself between Alla-ood-Deen and the city, and opposed him with great gallantry, but was eventually defeated with severe loss.

This expedition is otherwise related in the Moolhikat, and in the Tubkat Nasiry, by contemporary authors. Alla-ood-Deen (say these writers) left Kurra Manukpoor on pretence of hunting, and having passed quietly through the territories of many petty rajas, purposely avoided all hostilities; giving out that he had left his uncle, the King, in disgust, and was going to offer his services to the Raja of Rajmundry, one of the rajas of Tulingana. Accordingly, after a march of two months, he arrived without any remarkable opposition at Elichpoor, from whence he suddenly marched, in the direction of Dewgur, the capital of Ram Dew. On his reaching that place, he found the Raja himself in the city, but his wife and eldest son were at worship at a temple at some distance.

On the approach of Alla-ood-Deen, Ram Dew was in the greatest consternation. Having, however, collected three or four thousand citizens and domestics, he opposed the Mahomedans at the distance of two coss (four miles) from the city, but being defeated, retired into the fort which had at that time no ditch.* It happened that some of Ram Dew's subjects, who had brought salt for sale from the Concan, had left their bags close to the fort walls, and fled on the approach of the enemy. The garrison, supposing the bags to contain grain, carried them into the fort as a supply for a siege. Alla-ood-Deen so effectually surrounded the place that the inhabitants had no opportunity to escape, which enabled him to levy large sums on the merchants by way of contribution. He also captured forty elephants and several thousand horses, belonging to Ram Dew, in the town.

In the mean time he gave out that his force was only the advance-guard of the King of Dehly's army, consisting of twenty thousand horse, which was in full march to the place. This information excited general apprehension throughout the Deccan; and the rajas, instead of uniting for their common safety, each endeavoured to secure himself against attack. Alla-ood-Deen pillaged the city, seized

* The ditch of Dowlutabad, the scarp of which is, in many places, 100 feet, excavated out of the solid rock, is now one of the most remarkable objects of curiosity in the Deccan; but according to the author quoted, it must be a modern work, and executed subsequently to the first invasion of the Deccan by the Mahomedans.

on the merchants, brahmins, and principal inhabitants, and tortured them to make discovery of their property, while at the same time he conducted the siege of the fort.

Ram Dew, seeing that he must soon be obliged to yield, and apprehending that the King of Dehly intended to make an entire conquest of the Deccan, was anxious to secure peace before any other forces arrived. He, therefore, addressed the following letter to Alla-ood-Deen: "Your invasion "of this country was imprudent and rash; but "fortunately for you, you found the city unguarded, "and you have been permitted to range at large. "It is, however, possible, that the rajas of the "Deccan, who command innumerable armies, may "yet surround you, and not permit one of your "people to return from our dominions alive. Sup-"posing, even, that you should be able to retreat "from hence undisturbed, are not the princes of "Malwa, Kandeish, and Gondwara, in your route, "who have each armies of 40,000 or 50,000 men? "Can you hope they will permit you to escape "unmolested? "It is advisable, therefore, for you "to retire in time, by accepting a moderate sum, "which, with the spoil you have already got, will "indemnify you for the expense of your expe-"dition."

Alla-ood-Deen, according to these proposals, accepted of 50 maunds of gold*, and a large quan-

* The Deccan maund varies from 30lb. at Surat, to 24lb. at Goa: the amount of the specie would then be either 1200lb. or 1500lb. weight.

tity of pearls and jewels, and retained the elephants which he had taken in the Raja's stables. He released his prisoners, and promised to quit the town on the morning of the fifteenth day from his first entrance. But while he was preparing to retreat, Ram Dew's eldest son, Shunkul Dew, who had retired with his mother on the first appearance of the Mahomedan troops, to collect succours, advanced with a numerous army within a few miles of the city. Ram Dew sent a message to his son, informing him, that peace was concluded; and enjoined him to allow what had been settled to be quietly carried into effect, and required him to abstain from molesting the Mahomedans, whom he declared to be an enterprising and warlike race, with whom peace was better than war. The young prince, however, aware that his army amounted to thrice the number of the enemy, and hourly expecting to be joined by other princes, neglected the commands of his father, and wrote to Alla-ood-Deen in these terms: — "If you have "any love for life, and desire safety, restore what "you have plundered, and proceed quietly homeward, rejoicing at your happy escape." Alla-ood-Deen, on perusal of this letter, fired with indignation, ordered, that the messengers should have their faces blackened with soot, and be hooted out of his camp. He left Mullik Noosrut to invest the fort with a thousand horse, in order to prevent a sally, and marched with the rest of his army to attack the Raja's son.

The Hindoos by no means declined the contest; and an action ensued, in which the Mahomedan

troops, overpowered by numbers, fell back on all sides. Meanwhile, Mullik Noosrut, on learning the situation of affairs, left his post without orders, and galloping up to the field of battle with his thousand horse, changed the fortune of the day. The dust preventing the enemy from discovering the amount of Mullik Noosrut's force, it was supposed, by the Hindoos, that the King's army, of which they had heard, was arrived. In an instant a panic spread through their ranks, and they broke and fled in every direction. Alla-ood-Deen did not think it prudent to pursue them, but immediately returned, and having again encamped around the fort, exhibited to the garrison several of the Raja's kindred, in chains, who had been taken prisoners in the action.

Ram Dew, now in a state of the utmost perplexity, sent expresses to hasten the succours which he expected from the rajas of Koolburga, Tulingana, Malwa, and Kandeish. But the greatest cause of distress (of which till then he was unaware) was his want of provisions; for it was only now discovered, that the bags formerly brought into the fort, and supposed to contain grain, were filled with salt. Ram Dew, with much presence of mind, commanded the circumstance to be kept secret from the troops, and opened a second negotiation with Alla-ood-Deen. "It must be known to you," said the Prince, "that I had no hand in "the late quarrel. If my son, owing to the folly "and petulance of youth, has broken the conditions "between us, that event ought not to render me "responsible for his rashness." Ram Dew, more-

over, authorised his ambassador privately to accede to any terms rather than protract the siege.

Alla-ood-Deen, from the conduct of Ram Dew, suspected the true cause of his anxiety, and, therefore, proposed every day some new difficulty to retard the treaty. The garrison, being in the very last stage of distress, another treaty was concluded by the Raja upon the following terms:—viz. "That Alla-ood-Deen should receive, on eva- "cuating the country, 600 maunds of pearls*, two "maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sap- "phires, 1000 maunds of silver, 4000 pieces of "silk," besides a long list of other precious commodities to which reason forbids us to give credit. This ransom was not the only one required, but the cession of Elichpoor, and its dependencies, was also demanded, where Alla-ood-Deen might leave a garrison, which should remain there unmolested, for the collection of the revenues to be remitted to him at Kurra Manukpoor.

Alla-ood-Deen having released all his prisoners, marched in triumph out of the city with his plunder, and proceeded on his return, on the 25th day from his first arrival before Dewgur. He conducted his retreat with such address, that he opened his way through extensive and powerful kingdoms; viz. Malwa, Gondwara, and Kandeish. In this retreat, though surrounded by hostile armies, yet owing to the great order and regularity, as well as courage, displayed by his troops, they made little impression; and these attacks

* The quantity of precious stones seems beyond belief.

served only to add to the splendour of his enterprise. We may here justly remark, that, in the long volumes of history, there is scarcely any thing to be compared with this exploit, whether we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of its execution, or the great good fortune which attended its accomplishment.

When Alla-ood-Deen marched to Dewgur, all communication with Kurra was stopt, and no news heard of him for some months. The person whom he left as his deputy had orders to write to court, that he was engaged in the conquest of Chundery; but as the King, for the space of six months, had received no letters from under his own hand, he began to suspect treason. In the year 695, under the pretence of hunting, the King ordered out his retinue, and proceeded towards Gualiar, where he encamped, and built a large and lofty dome, with a verse to this purpose inscribed over the door: —

A. H. 695.
A. D. 1295.

"What fame can I, whose footsteps press the "throne of empire, acquire from raising this rude "mass of masonry? No! I have united these "broken stones together, in order that, under "their shade, the weary traveller, or broken-"hearted pilgrim, may find repose, and offer up "his blessing."

In the mean time, private intelligence arrived, that Alla-ood-Deen, having conquered Dewgur, had acquired such wealth as was never before possessed, even by a king of Dehly, with which he was now on his return towards Kurra. The King, delighted with this news, reckoned upon the spoil

as if already in his own treasury; but men of more reflection thought otherwise, and justly concluded, that it was not to fill the royal coffers, that Alla-ood-Deen, without the King's authority, had undertaken so bold and hazardous an expedition. They, however, waited to see the issue, without communicating their suspicions.

The King having one day assembled his council, told them, that Alla-ood-Deen was now on his return to Kurra with immense booty, and requested their advice, whether it would be most prudent for him to remain where he was, and command Alla-ood-Deen to the presence, or to march towards him, or to return to Dehly? Mullik Ahmud Hubeeb, at once sagacious and remarkable for his open and candid mode of addressing the King on all occasions, ventured to express his suspicions of the ultimate designs of his nephew. He advised the King to advance with his army towards Chundery, and encamp on the road along which lay Alla-ood-Deen's route to Kurra. "This," said he, "will enable you to discover the Prince's intentions before he has time to augment his army." He added, further, that, upon the appearance of the imperial army, it was highly probable that the troops of Alla-ood-Deen, laden with spoil, and within their own country, would not hazard the loss of it by an action; but would rather endeavour to secure their wealth, and disperse among the mountains. That by these means, Alla-ood-Deen, if he meditated revolt, would be deserted by the greatest part of his small army, which would oblige him to abandon whatever plans he might have

formed for establishing his independence, and induce him to lay his wealth at the foot of the throne. He proceeded to observe, that the King in this case might take the gold, jewels, and elephants, which, according to custom, appertained to the crown, and permit Alla-ood-Deen to retain the remainder for himself. It would then be a point for consideration, whether he should be allowed to continue in his government, or be directed to accompany the court to Dehly.

Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Koochy, kotwal of Dehly, though sensible of the propriety of this advice, yet, on looking towards the King, and perceiving he did not approve of it, spoke to the following effect: "The accounts of Alla-ood-"Deen's return, the amount of his plunder, and "the truth of his conquest, have not yet been "publicly confirmed. We have them only from "flying reports, which, we all know, are often "vague and extravagant. Supposing, even, that "what we hear is trüe, is it not natural to imagine, "that when he shall hear of the approach of the "King's army, that the fear of false accusation, "or evil designs against him, will induce him to "retreat to the mountains, from whence, as the "rainy season is approaching, it will be impossible "to dislodge him? Let us not, therefore, cast off "our shoes before we reach the river, but wait till "Alla-ood-Deen shall arrive at Kurra. If it shall "then appear that he cherishes treasonable views, "one assault of the King's forces will put an end "to his ambition."

Ahmud Hubeeb, having heard this, observed,

with indignation, "The time passes. As soon as "Alla-ood-Deen shall have escaped us, will he not "proceed by the way of Oude to Bengal? where, "by securing his treasure, he will soon be enabled "to raise such an army as neither you nor I will "be able to oppose. Oh, shame! that men who "know better should not have the courage to give "honest counsel when required to do so."

The King, displeased with these words, addressing the officers who stood near him, said, "Ahmud "Hubeeb never fails to do ill offices to our ne-"phew *, against whom he endeavours to excite "our suspicion and resentment; but such private "rancour shall have no weight with us. We are "so well assured of the loyalty of Alla-ood-Deen, "whom we have nursed in our bosom, that we "would sooner believe treason of our own son "than of him." Upon this, Ahmud Hubeeb rose with some emotion, and striking one hand upon the other, walked out, repeating the following verse: "When the sun of prosperity is eclipsed, "advice ceases to enlighten the mind." The King adopted the opinion of Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen, and marched back with his army to Dehly.

Not many days after his arrival at the capital, a letter came from Alla-ood-Deen, in which he styled himself the King's slave, and stated, that all his wealth was at the King's disposal; but that, being wearied with the tedious march, he begged for some repose at Kurra. He observed, that he had intended to kiss the foot of the throne; but knowing

* He was, also, Ahmud Hubeeb's cousin-german.

he had enemies at court, who might, in his absence, defame his character, and deprive him of his Majesty's favour, he and the chiefs who accompanied him in the expedition (in which he was sensible he had acted without orders) were apprehensive of punishment. He, therefore, requested to have a letter of grace, assuring him and his followers of their safety, and of the royal protection.

The King was deceived, and credited all the assertions of his nephew, who, on his part, made preparations for going off to Luknowty; for which purpose he despatched Zuffur Khan towards Oude, to secure the boats on the Surjoo, so that in case the King should come to Kurra Manukpoor, he might be able to cross the river, and proceed at once to Bengal, where he resolved to establish an independent sovereignty. The King, unsuspicious of his designs, wrote kind letters to Alla-ood-Deen, which he sent by two trusty messengers. These messengers, on their arrival at Kurra, perceiving how matters stood, endeavoured to return, but they were seized, and had no opportunity of writing the true state of affairs to court. The King, concluding the apprehensions of Alla-ood-Deen were still unremoved, endeavoured to satisfy his mind through Almas Beg, the brother of the latter. Alla-ood-Deen, meanwhile, wrote to Almas Beg, that it was now a matter of notoriety at Kurra, that the King intended certainly to take his life for proceeding to Dewgur without orders. That he sincerely repented of what he had done, and had taken his Majesty's displeasure, which to him was worse than death, so

much to heart, that he was afraid excess of sorrow would put an end to his melancholy life. He, therefore, begged of his brother to inform him of the King's real design, in order that he might either take poison, or look out for a place of security. Letters to this effect were day after day received by Almas Beg, who, being in the plot to deceive the King, showed them to him, and professed at the same time to be apprehensive lest his brother should lay violent hands on himself, or fly his country. He used a thousand delusive arts to inveigle the King to Kurra, who conceived, that the final possession of the treasure depended on the preservation of his nephew's life. The old man at last embarked with a thousand horse and a small retinue, on the Ganges, ordering Ahmud Hubeeb to follow with the army by land.

Alla-ood-Deen, hearing of the King's departure from Dehly, crossed the Ganges, and encamped near Manukpoor, upon the opposite bank. On the 17th of Rumzan, the royal canopy appeared in sight. Alla-ood-Deen drew out his troops on pretence of doing honour to the King, deputing his brother, Almas Beg, who had come on before, to concert measures for his reception. This artful traitor represented to the King, that if he should take so large a retinue as a thousand horse with him, Alla-ood-Deen might be alarmed; for that some bad people had confirmed him so strongly in his fears, that all he could say was insufficient entirely to allay his suspicions. The King, still unsuspicious of treachery from so near a

Rumzan 17. A. H. 695. July 19. A. D. 1295.

relative, whom he had cherished from his infancy, acceded to the proposal, and having ordered a few only of his select attendants to follow him into his barge, caused the fleet to remain at some distance behind. When the royal party came near the camp, Almas Beg again told the King, that his brother, seeing so many men in armour, might possibly be alarmed; that, therefore, as he had taken such ridiculous notions into his head, which no one could remove, it were better to avoid the least appearance of state. The King, consequently, directed his attendants to unbuckle their armour, and lay their weapons aside. Mullik Khoorum, the chief secretary, opposed this step with great vehemence, for he now began to suspect treachery; but the traitor Almas Beg, had such a winning and plausible tongue, that he, too, at last yielded, though with great reluctance.

The King reached the landing-place, and Alla-ood-Deen appeared upon the bank with his attendants, whom he ordered to halt. He advanced alone, met his uncle, and fell prostrate at his feet. The old man, in a familiar manner, tapped him on the cheek, and raising him up, embraced him, saying, "How could you be suspicious "of me, who have brought you up from your "childhood, and cherished you with a fatherly "affection, holding you dearer in my sight, if pos-"sible, than my own offspring?" Then taking him by the hand, he was leading him back into the royal barge, when Alla-ood-Deen made a signal to his guards, who were behind. Mahmood Bin Salim, rushing forward, wounded the King with

his sword over the shoulder. The unfortunate monarch ran forward to gain the barge, crying, "Ah! thou villain, Alla-ood-Deen;" but before he had reached the boat, another of the guards, Yekhtyar-ood-Deen, coming up, seized the feeble old man, and throwing him on the ground, cut off his head. The rebels then fixed the venerable head of their sovereign on the point of a spear, and carried it through the camp and city.

The day before this event took place, Alla-ood-Deen visited a reverend sage, named Sheikh Karrik, who is buried at Kurra, and whose tomb is still held sacred. That holy man, rising from his pillow, repeated the following extempore verse: "He who cometh against thee shall lose his head "in the boat, and his body shall be thrown into "the Ganges." Which, they say, was explained a few hours after, by the death of the unfortunate King, whose head fell into the boat upon this occasion. Mahmood Bin Salim, one of the assassins, about a year after, died of a horrid leprosy, which dissolved the flesh, piece-meal, from his bones. Yekhtyar-ood-Deen, the other assassin, fared no better; for he became mad, crying out incessantly, that Julal-ood-Deen Feroze was cutting off his head. Thus this wretch also suffered a thousand deaths, in imagination, before he expired.

Almas Beg, the brother of Alla-ood-Deen, and the others concerned in this horrid tragedy, fell into such a course of misfortunes, that in the space of four years no traces of them remained on the face of the earth, though the recollection of their

crimes long survived the event. And even Alla-ood-Deen himself, though fortune smiled on him at first, yet in the end he suffered great distress of mind, being obliged to imprison his own children, and to put to death, one after another, the friends whom he loved most, and in whom he most confided. Julal-ood-Deen Feroze Khiljy reigned for a period of seven years and some months.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN KHILJY.

Consternation at Dehly. — The Dowager-queen elevates her youngest son to the throne. — Measures taken by Alla ood-Deen to strengthen his party — his profuse liberality to all classes. — The Queen-dowager invites her eldest son, governor of Mooltan, to repair to Dehly; but he declines the contest with Alla-ood-Deen, who arrives at the capital. — The young King, and his mother, fly to Mooltan. — Alla-ood-Deen proclaimed King in Dehly — entertains the people with public festivities — becomes popular — forms a new administration of the most able men of the state — gives a donation of six months' pay to the army. — Sends his brother to attack the princes in Mooltan — they surrender under the most sacred promises of kind treatment — are brought to Dehly, and all the males are deprived of sight by the King's orders, and subsequently put to death. — The Queen-dowager and the females are confined in Dehly. — Moguls invade India — are defeated by the King's brother, with the loss of 12,000 *men. — Guzerat invaded, and partially conquered. — Mutiny in the Guzerat army. — Defection of Mahomed Mogul — takes refuge with the Raja of Runtunbhore. — Mogul invasion repulsed by Zuffur Khan. — Another invasion, by* 200,000 *men — reaches Dehly. — Great exertions of the King. — Moguls defeated. — Zuffur Khan killed. — Plot to assassinate the King, who is severely wounded, and left for dead. — The King's great presence of mind, and good conduct. — The assassin killed. — Plot to raise a king in Dehly discovered and put down. — The King's uneasiness. — Internal regulations in all branches of his government. — Sends armies to Chittoor on the west, and to Tulingana on the south. — Mogul invasion of* 120,000 *men — reaches Dehly without a check. — The Moguls withdraw suddenly. — The King frames a scheme of finance. — Regulates the price of all articles. — Famine ensues. — Another Mogul invasion. — Moguls cut off in their retreat. —*

The King sends armies to Guzerat, Malwa, and the Deccan. — Success of his generals, particularly Mullik Kafoor, in the Deccan. — Capture of Kowul Devy — also of her daughter Dewul Devy. — Siege of Jalwur. — Massacre of the Moguls in Dehly, by the King's orders. — Flourishing condition of the empire under Alla-ood-Deen. — The King becomes suspicious of his sons, and confines them. — Misfortunes in the empire. — Dissensions in the provinces. — Revolution in the Deccan. — Death of the King.

INTELLIGENCE of the murder of the King having reached Ahmud Hubeeb, who was advancing with the army, he retreated to Dehly. Mullika Jehan, the Dowager-queen, imprudently, and without consulting the chiefs, placed the crown on the head of her youngest son, the Prince Kuddur Khan, entitled Rookn-ood-Deen Ibraheem; the heir apparent, Arkully Khan, his elder brother, being then at Mooltan. The Queen accompanied the young prince from Kelookery to Dehly, and seated him on the throne in the green palace, though he was yet a boy, and altogether unacquainted with affairs of state: at the same time, she divided the provinces among her partisans. Arkully Khan, the real heir, who possessed all the qualities of a king, was greatly perplexed by these proceedings, but thought proper, for the present, to remain at Mooltan.

Alla-ood-Deen, having learned that affairs at the capital had fallen into the hands of his inveterate enemy the Queen, Mullika Jehan, and her infant son, no longer confined his views to an independent kingdom at Luknówty, but boldly aspired to the throne of Dehly, for which city he determined to

march in spite of the rainy season. His first objects were to raise an army within his government, and to confer royal titles on his friends and followers. Almas Beg was honoured with the title of Aluf Khan; Mullik Noosrut Jalesury with that of Noosrut Khan; Mullik Hijubr-ood-Deen assumed the name of Zuffur Khan, and Mullik Sunjur, whose sister was married to Alla-ood-Deen, received the title of Rookn Khan. To these titles were superadded estates.

Alla-ood-Deen, by the advice of Noosrut Khan, distributed presents also among the army, wherever he encamped, and he amused himself by throwing golden balls from a sling among the people, so that his liberality soon brought abundance of soldiers to his banners. The Queen-dowager, in the greatest perplexity, owing to the information she daily received of Alla-ood-Deen's popularity, despatched an express to Mooltan, for her son Arkully Khan; but he returned for answer, that the time was past, for before he could arrive, the troops of the capital would join the enemy; that his coming now, therefore, would be of no avail. He observed, "a stream may be "diverted at its source, but when it becomes a "river, dams cannot oppose its current."

Alla-ood-Deen made no delay in his march, but crossed the Jumna, below Dehly, and encamped opposite the north-east gate. The Prince, fluttering like a solitary bird, collected his forces, and marching out of the city, drew up his line before the enemy. But when he saw them preparing for battle, he retreated into the city, and during the

night was deserted by a number of omras, who went over with their forces to Alla-ood-Deen. The Prince now perceived that there was no safety but in flight. Taking, therefore, his mother, the haram, and treasure with him, he set out for Mooltan, accompanied by Mullik Rujub, Kootb-ood-Deen Oolvy, Ahmud Hubeeb, and Ameer Julal. The citizens, after the departure of the young King, crowded to pay their respects to Alla-ood-Deen, who causing new coin to be struck in his name, made a pompous and triumphant entry into Dehly, in the latter end of the year 696, and ascended the throne, in the ruby palace.

A. H. 696.
A. D. 1296.

He commenced his reign by splendid shows, and grand festivals, and encouraged every description of gaiety, which so pleased the unthinking rabble, that they soon lost all memory of their former King, and of the horrid scene which had placed the present one on the throne. He who ought to have been viewed with detestation, became the object of admiration to those who could not see the blackness of his deeds through the splendour of his munificence.

Whilst obtaining by these means popularity with the lower classes, he endeavoured also to secure the good will of the great by conferring titles, and of the venal and avaricious by gifts. The office of vizier was conferred upon Khwaja Khuteer, a man renowned for his virtue in those degenerate times. Kazy Sudr-ood-Deen Aarif, entitled Sudr-i-Jehan, was made chief justice in the civil court; and Oomdut-ool-Moolk, Mullik Humeed-ood-Deen, and Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen, were raised to

the offices of secretaries. Both were men of great learning and talents. Noosrut Khan was appointed Kotwal of Dehly; Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Koochy was raised to the dignity of chief justice in the criminal court, and Mullik Zuffur Khan to that of chief secretary; many others were also raised to high offices, which it would be tedious to enumerate. Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy, having bestowed six months' pay on his whole army, began to concert measures for extirpating the descendants of the late Julal-ood-Deen Feroze. He despatched Aluf Khan his brother, and Zuffur Khan, with forty thousand horse, towards Mooltan. They, on their arrival, invested that city, and laid siege to it for two months. At length the citizens and troops, betraying the cause of the Princes Arkully Khan and Kuddur Khan, surrendered the place on condition of the lives of the Princes being spared, for the fulfilment of which Aluf Khan gave the most solemn assurances.

The object of this expedition being attained, Aluf Khan wrote to his brother an account of his success, which was read in all the public pulpits after prayers, and great rejoicings were ordered to be made on the occasion. Aluf Khan, meantime, proceeded in triumph with his army, and brought his state-prisoners towards Dehly. He was met on his way by Mullik Noosrut Khan Kotwal, and was informed that the King had commanded the eyes of the prisoners to be put out. This cruel order was not only carried into effect on the two

princes, but was extended to Oghloo Khan*, the grandson of the great Chungiz Khan, to Ahmud Hubeeb, and to others of less note. All their effects were also confiscated. The two unfortunate princes were then imprisoned in the fort of Hansy, where they were soon after assassinated; while the Queen-dowager Mullika Jehan, and all the ladies of the late King's haram, and his other children, were confined at Dehly.

In the second year of this reign, Khwaja Khuteer was dismissed from the office of vizier, which was conferred on Noosrut Khan. This minister demanded the restoration of all the sums that the King, at his accession, had bestowed on the nobility and people, a measure which created great disgust, and led to disturbances. During these transactions, advices reached Dehly, that Ameer Dawood, King of Mawur-ool-Nuhr, had prepared an army of 100;000 Moguls, with a design to conquer Mooltan, Punjab, and Sind, and that he was then actually advancing with great expedition, carrying every thing before him with fire and sword. Alla-ood-Deen detached his brother Aluf Khan, to oppose the invaders; and the two armies met in the districts of Lahore, where a bloody conflict ensued, in which the Moguls were defeated with the loss of 12,000 men, and many of their chiefs. A great number of prisoners of all ranks was taken, who were put to the sword some days after, without sparing even

* Oghloo Khan married the daughter of the late King, and Ahmed Hubeeb was his sister's son.

the women and children captured in the Mogul camp. This victory raised the fame of the King's arms, established his power at home, and overawed his foreign enemies. Alla-ood-Deen, about this time, by the advice of his brother Aluf Khan, seized many omras, who, in the late revolution, had taken advantage of the distresses of the Prince Arkully Khan, and of the Queen-mother, to obtain from them large sums of money for their services. He caused these people to be deprived of sight, and their estates to be confiscated, by which means he added considerable wealth to his own coffers.

A. H. 697. A. D. 1297. In the beginning of the year 697, Aluf Khan, the King's brother, and Noosrut Khan, the Vizier, were sent with an army to reduce Guzerat. Accordingly, having laid waste the country, they occupied Nehrwala the capital, which was deserted by its prince (Ray Kurrun), who fled, and took protection with Ram Dew, King of Dewgur, in the Deccan. By the aid of that prince, Ray Kurrun soon after returned, and took up his residence in Buglana, one of the districts dependent on Guzerat, bordering upon Ram Dew's dominions; but his wives, children, elephants, baggage, and treasure, fell into the hands of the Mahomedans. Among the captives, was his beautiful wife Kowla Devy. After this exploit, Noosrut Khan proceeded with a part of the army to Cambay, which being a rich country, and full of merchants, yielded a prodigious booty. It was on this occasion that Noosrut Khan seized by force one Kafoor, a handsome slave belonging to a merchant of Cambay. This

person afterwards gained great distinction, and attained to much eminence under the title of Mullik Kafoor. When the Mahomedans had sufficiently satisfied their avarice, and quenched their thirst for blood, they appointed governors to the provinces, and leaving part of the army for their defence, returned towards Dehly. On the army reaching Jalwur, on its return to the capital, the two generals made a demand of the fifth of the spoil from the troops, besides what they had already realised for themselves. This step produced a mutiny in the camp. Mahomed Shah, general of the mercenary Moguls, with many other chiefs, placed themselves at the head of their several divisions. One party attacked Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen, the brother of the Vizier (Noosrut Khan), and slew him with a number of his people; another party proceeded to the quarters of Aluf Khan (the King's brother), who fled on foot to the Vizier's tent, so that the mutineers not finding him, killed the King's nephew (by a sister,) who happened to be sleeping there, supposing him to be Aluf Khan. By this time, the alarm induced the Vizier to cause the drums to beat to arms, and the trumpets to be sounded; those not concerned in the mutiny, conceiving that the enemy was at hand, quickly fell into their stations, and the mutineers separating, dispersed, and escaping in the confusion, fled by different routes to a place of rendezvous. They were, however, closely pursued the next day, and forced to retreat, with some loss, to the districts of Bheem Dew, Raja of Runtunbhore, where

they sought protection; Aluf Khan and the Vizier, meanwhile, continued their march to Dehly.

Alla-ood-Deen, on seeing Kowla Devy, the captive wife of the Prince of Guzerat, who, for beauty, wit, and accomplishments, was the flower of India, took her into the haram; and Kafoor, the slave above alluded to, who had been taken on this expedition, also attracted his attention. The Vizier, by the King's order, caused all the families of those Moguls, or others who had been concerned in the late mutiny, to be put to death, without pitying the fond wife, the weeping mothers, or the smiling infants who clung to their breasts.

About this time Choldy Khan, a Mogul chief, and his brother, appeared with a considerable force, and took the fort of Sewustan. Zuffur Khan marched against him, invested the place, and not only recovered it out of his hands, but secured the person of Choldy Khan, and about 2000 Moguls, who were sent in chains to Dehly. Zuffur Khan distinguished himself so much on this expedition, that his fame excited the jealousy of the King, who resolved to deprive him of his government; but was prevented from doing so at that time, by another invasion of Moguls, under Kootloogh Khan, the son of Ameer Daood Khan, King of Mawur-ool-Nehr.

The army of the invaders consisted of 200,000 horse, who promised to themselves the entire conquest of Hindoostan. Kootloogh Khan, accordingly, having occupied all the countries beyond the Indus, on his march protected the inhabitants from violence. Then crossing the river, he pro-

ceeded to Dehly, where he encamped on the banks of the Jumna without opposition; Zuffur Khan gradually retreating before him with his army. The whole country, in terror of the Moguls, crowded into the capital. The city became so full, that the streets were rendered impassable, and all business and communication were interrupted. This, however, was but the beginning of the disasters which ensued. In the space of a few days, the consumption being great, and no supplies procurable, famine began to rage, and desperation and dismay were exhibited in every countenance. Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy, on this pressing occasion, called a council of his nobles, and, in spite of remonstrances, resolved to attack the enemy. He left the city, and marched out by the Budaoon gate with 300,000 horse, and 2700 elephants. He drew up in order of battle, on the plains beyond the suburbs, where the enemy formed to receive him. From the time when first the arms of Islam appeared in Hindoostan two such mighty hosts had never been brought together, nor am I aware that, up to the present period, being the year of the Hijra 1015, (A. D. 1606,) such vast numbers have ever been opposed at the same time in one place.

Alla-ood-Deen gave the command of his right wing to Zuffur Khan, the greatest general of that age, who had under him all the troops of his governments, consisting of the provinces of Sumana, Punjab, and Mooltan. The left wing was entrusted to the King's brother, Aluf Khan, under whom was Rookn Khan, his brother-in-law. The

King took post in the centre, with 12,000 volunteers, who were mostly persons of family: this body was commanded by Noosrut Khan. With the choicest of his elephants, he formed a line in his front, and supported his rear with a select body of cavalry under the vizier. Zuffur Khan commenced the action with great impetuosity on the right, and breaking with his line of elephants the enemy's line of horse, committed dreadful slaughter, and bore it away before him. Having thus turned the enemy's left flank, it fell back upon the centre, so that considerable confusion ensued in that part of the line before the action was well begun. Alla-ood-Deen, observing this, ordered his brother, Aluf Khan, who commanded on the left, to advance and close with the enemy; but, jealous of the fame of Zuffur Khan, Aluf Khan halted at a short distance from the field of battle, leaving Zuffur Khan to continue the pursuit alone, for upwards of thirty miles. Next morning, one of the Mogul chiefs, whose toman * had not been engaged, perceiving Zuffur Khan unsupported, determined to attack him. At the same time he sent advice to Kootloogh Khan, the leader of the horde, who, during the day, also returned with 10,000 more men, and came upon Zuffur Khan's rear. Zuffur Khan, thus surrounded, saw the danger of his situation. It was too late to retreat. He drew up his troops, therefore, though not half the number of the enemy, dividing them into two squadrons, and again renewed the con-

* A Toorky word, meaning a division of 10,000 soldiers.

flict, in which his soldiers exhibited great feats of personal valour. At last, the leg of Zuffur Khan's horse being cut through by a sabre, he fell to the ground. Zuffur Khan rose instantly, and seized a bow and quiver: he was a dexterous archer, and although on foot, he dealt death around him. Most of his men were by this time either killed or dispersed; Kootloogh Khan, admiring his gallantry, called out to him to surrender, telling him that his valour should be rewarded with such honours as it deserved. Zuffur Khan replied sternly, "I know no greater honour than "to die in fulfilling my duty," and persisted in discharging his arrows. The Mogul chief, upon this, ordered a party of horse to surround him, and endeavour to take him alive, but Zuffur Khan persisted in refusing quarter, and was at last cut in pieces, together with a few trusty servants who stood by him to the last.

This advantage, however, did not dispel the fears of the Moguls. They continued their retreat, and evacuated India with expedition. The bravery of Zuffur Khan became so proverbial among the Moguls, that when their horses started, they would ask them whether they saw the ghost of Zuffur Khan. Alla-ood-Deen, it is said, considered the death of this great general as the richest reward of the victory, and could not help expressing his satisfaction at the event. Great rejoicings were made at Dehly, to celebrate the retreat of the Moguls; and the principal officers were rewarded with titles, and commands, according to their conduct, and their interest at court. Some few,

who had behaved ill, were disgraced, particularly one officer who was seated upon an ass, and paraded round the city.

In the third year of the reign of Alla-ood-Deen, when prosperity shone upon his arms, he began to form some extraordinary projects. One of these was the establishment of a new religion, that like Mahomed he might be held in veneration by posterity. He often consulted with his brother Aluf Khan, Noosrut Khan his Vizier, and Rookn Khan, on this project, while engaged in their cups. His other design was equally absurd. He proposed to leave a viceroy in India, and like Alexander the Great, to undertake the conquest of the world. In consequence of this latter project, he assumed the title of "Alexander the Second," which was struck upon the currency of the empire. Notwithstanding these high notions, Alla-ood-Deen was so illiterate, that he was ignorant of the common acquirements of reading and writing; but he was so obstinate and self-willed in the ridiculous ideas which he formed, that men of learning, who disdained to prostitute their judgment, avoided the court, or stood silent in his presence. There were not, however, wanting sycophants, who, though they knew better, extolled all his sentiments to the skies, and seemed to foster their own imaginations with his crude projects.

Alla-ool-Moolk, the kotwal of the city, an old man, and so fat that he was unable to attend the court oftener than once a month, being one day sent for by the King to be consulted regarding his religious project, determined (however fatal the

consequences) to reject every measure proposed in opposition to the doctrine of the Mahomedan faith, and to make a sacrifice of his few remaining years rather than encourage the King's design. With this firm resolve he attended at court, and found the King drinking with a number of his principal chiefs. Alla-ood-Deen began to converse with Mullik Alla-ool-Moolk on his favourite subject; but the old man told him he had something to say to him in private, and would be glad if he would order the wine and the company away.

The King smiled, and desired all the company to retire, except four. The old magistrate then fell upon his face, and having kissed the ground, rose up, and thus spoke: "Oh, King! religion is "the law of God, whose spirit inspired his pro- "phets, but it depends not on the opinions of "mortals. We are taught by God's holy word to "believe, that the spirit of prophecy ended with "Mahomed, the last and greatest of his messen- "gers. This being, acknowledged by great and "small, by all nations, and by all degrees of "people, should your intentions against the true "faith be once known, it is impossible to conceive "what hatred you will incur, and what bloodshed "and disturbance may ensue. It is, therefore, "advisable, that you should set aside these new "notions, since the accomplishment of your views "exceeds the power of mere mortals. Did not "Chungiz Khan, the most powerful of monarchs, "and his successors, labour for ages to subvert "our faith, that they might establish their own? "What rivers of blood have flowed in the contest,

" till at length the spirit of truth prevailed, and " they became proselytes to that religion which " they had endeavoured so long to destroy." The King, having listened with attention, replied, " What you have said is just, and founded on " friendship and reason. I will for ever lay aside " all thoughts of this scheme, which has so long " engaged my attention. But what do you think " of my project of universal conquest?"

The venerable magistrate replied, " Some kings, " in former ages, formed the same great design " which your Majesty has resolved on at present; " and your power, personal bravery, and wealth, " give you at least equal hopes of success; but " the times are not so favourable, and the govern- " ment of India seems not to stand upon so firm a " basis as to support itself in your absence. Per- " fidy and ingratitude daily appear. Brothers " become traitors to each other, and children con- " spire against their parents. How much is this " degenerate age unlike to the virtuous times of " Alexander? Men were then endued with ho- " nourable principles, and the cunning and treach- " ery of the present times were then held in " utter abomination. Your Majesty has no coun- " sellors like Aristotle, who, by his wisdom and " policy, not only kept his own country in peace " and security, but brought other nations, by " voluntary consent, to place themselves under his " master's protection. If your Majesty can put " equal confidence in your nobles, and can depend " as much upon the love of your people as Alex- " ander was enabled to do, you may then venture

" to carry your scheme into execution ; if not, we " cannot well reconcile it to reason." The King, after musing awhile, said, " What you have told " me bears on it the face of sincerity and truth ; " but what availeth all this power in armies, in " wealth, and in kingdoms, if I content myself " with what I already possess, and do not employ " it in acquiring fame and glory ?" Mullik Alla-ool-Moolk replied, " There are two undertakings " in which the King's treasure may be expended to " good purpose. The first is, the conquest of the " southern kingdoms of Hindoostan, such as Run-" tunbhore, Chittoor, Jalwur, and Chundery ; and " the second, the reduction of the south-eastern " provinces as far as the sea, and on the north-" west as far as Lumghan and Kabul, so as to " form a barrier to protect India from the in-" vasions of the Moguls. This," said the chief magistrate, " would secure the peace of Hindoos-" tan, and procure to the King immortal honour, " by bestowing happiness upon his people ; an " object of greater importance than if he should " consume the world in the flames of war. But " even to succeed in this project, it is requisite " that the King should abstain from excess of wine, " and from licentiousness." The King, contrary to the old man's expectations, took all this advice in good part, and applauding his candour presented him with a robe of honour, ten thousand rupees, and two horses richly caparisoned, and granted to him and his posterity two villages in freehold. The other nobles, though they wanted the virtue or resolution to speak their minds, were

extremely pleased with the kotwal, and sent him also presents to a large amount.

A. H. 699. A. D. 1299. The King, in the year 699, according to the advice of Mullik Alla-ool-Moolk, having summoned his brother, Aluf Khan, from Sumana, the Vizier from Kurra, and others from their respective soobadaries, to the presence, deputed them, with an army, against the Raja of Runtunbhore.

In the first instance, they took the fort of Jhayin, and afterwards invested the capital; but Noosrut Khan, the Vizier, advancing too near the wall, was crushed to death by a stone from an engine. Advantage was taken of the circumstance of the commander-in-chief's death. Raja Humbur Dew marched out from the fort, and gave battle, having collected, within a short time, 200,000 men. With this force, he compelled Aluf Khan to fall back to Jhayin, with great loss. The particulars of this defeat being reported at Dehly, the King resolved to take the field in person. During his march, he halted for a day at a place called Jheelput, and went out hunting. Having wandered far from his camp in the chase, he remained with his attendants all night in a forest. On the morning, before sunrise, having occupied a spot of rising ground, he sat down with two or three attendants, and commanded the court to pursue their diversion on the plain below. The Prince, Sooliman Shah, entitled Rookn Khan, having observed this, it occurred to him, that at such a time the King might be cut off, in the same manner as he himself had cut off his predecessor.

Rookn Khan thought, also, that being his nephew and brother-in-law, he might, through that relationship, as well as through the influence which as chief secretary he possessed, maintain as good a title as Alla-ood-Deen himself had to the throne. Having, accordingly, communicated his design to a few of the newly-converted Moguls, who had been for some time in his service, and on whose fidelity he firmly relied, he rode up to the King, and discharged a flight of arrows, two of which entered his body, so that he lay for dead on the ground. The Prince, Rookn Khan, now drew his sword, and ran to cut off the King's head; but being told by the royal attendants that he was quite dead, deemed it unnecessary to sever the head from the body.

Rookn Khan then proceeded to the camp, and having ascended the throne, was proclaimed king. Meanwhile, the army was thrown into the utmost confusion: the great men assembled to pay their court, and present their offerings on the occasion; the customary prayers were read from the Koran; the Khootba was formally pronounced in the name of Rookn Khan; and the public criers were ordered to proclaim his accession. The Prince, now descending from the throne, proceeded towards the haram; but Mullik Deenar, the chief eunuch, with his guard, stopped him at the door, swearing, that till he showed him Alla-ood-Deen's head, he should not enter while he had life to oppose it. Alla-ood-Deen, mean time, having recovered his senses, and having had his wounds bound up, imagined that Rookn Khan's

treason must be connected with a preconcerted conspiracy of the nobles, and determined to fly to his brother, Aluf Khan, at Jhayin, accompanied by about 60 servants, who still remained with him. Mullik Humeed, deputy door-keeper of the presence, strongly dissuaded the King from this measure, and recommended him immediately to go to his own camp, and there show himself to the army; observing, that the usurper had not yet had time to establish himself, and that upon seeing the Emperor's canopy, he doubted not but the whole army would return to their duty; adding, at the same time, that the least delay might render his affairs irrecoverable.

Alla-ood-Deen having adopted this advice, mounted his horse with great difficulty, and raising the white canopy, which lay on the field, over his head, proceeded with his small retinue towards the camp. Being joined by some foraging parties on the way, he now appeared guarded by about 500 men, and having ascended an eminence in full view of the camp, his retinue was at once seen by the whole army. The soldiers immediately crowded in thousands around his person, and the court of the usurper was broken up in a few minutes, so that he found himself alone. In this dilemma, he mounted his horse, and fled towards Afghanpoor. Alla-ood-Deen proceeded towards the royal pavilion, and ascending the throne, gave public audience; sending, at the same time, a body of horse in pursuit of his nephew. This party shortly came up with him, severed his head from his body, and laid it at the King's feet. The King gave

orders, at the same time, to seize the usurper's brother, Kootloogh Khan, and the chief conspirators, all of whom suffered death.

When Alla-ood-Deen recovered of his wounds, he continued his march to Runtunbhore, where he was joined by his brother, Alugh Khan, and began again to besiege the place. But the Hindoos defended it so obstinately that numbers of the King's army daily fell. Alla-ood-Deen, however, persisted in his attacks with redoubled resolution, while detachments of his army ravaged the adjacent territories of Malwa and Dhar. The siege being protracted for some months, Oomur Khan and Mungoo Khan (both nephews of the King), who held the government of Budaoon, rebelled: Alla-ood-Deen wrote letters to the several chiefs of those provinces whom he thought loyal, as also to the neighbouring zemindars, to levy forces for the suppression of the rebellion. By these means the rebels were defeated, and both were sent prisoners to the royal camp.

The King caused them to be deprived of sight, in the first instance, but subsequently put them to death, as an example to others. Notwithstanding this severity, one of the most extraordinary conspiracies recorded in history was undertaken by one Hajy Mowla *, the son of a slave of the celebrated Fukhr-ood-Deen, kotwal of Dehly, who died in the former reign. This ambitious youth, finding the King so long engaged in the siege of

* Hajy Mowla was the favourite slave of Fukhr-ood-Deen, kotwal; but who became disgusted with the little attention he received after the death of that eminent person.

Runtunbhore, formed a scheme for creating a revolution in the empire. He was, perhaps, moved to this by the murmuring of the citizens against the present kotwal's deputy (Toormoozy Khan), who, in his master's absence in camp, had oppressed the people severely. The first act of Hajy Mowla was, to collect in the heat of the day, when most people were gone to rest, a mob of citizens, by a forged order from the King. With these he hastened to the house of Toormoozy Khan, and sent word to tell him that a messenger had arrived with an order from the King. Toormoozy Khan, out of respect to the royal order, hastened to the door, when the young impostor, showing him the paper in one hand, cut him down with the other, and killed him. He then read aloud the forged mandate authorizing the act.

The mob now increasing, Hajy Mowla sent parties to secure the city gates, and despatched a person to Alla-ood-Deen Ayaz, kotwal of the new city, to come and examine the King's order. This magistrate, however, having heard of the disturbance, paid no regard to the message, but shut his own gates. Hajy Mowla, in the mean time, with his mob, entered the ruby palace, released the state prisoners, and taking out all the arms, treasure, and valuable effects, divided them among his followers. He then by force seated Alvy, styled also Shah Nunny, (one of the prisoners, a lineal descendant of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish,) upon the throne, and commanded the principal men of the city to pay him obeisance. The King received advice of these transactions,

but did not allow it to effect his prosecution of the siege, which he carried on with apparently renewed vigour. He, however, wrote to Mullik Humeed, his foster-brother, on the subject, who, having raised a party in the city, seized the Budaoon gate, on the seventh day after the usurpation, and took the field, where he was joined by a party of troops who happened to be marching to Dehly from Amroha to be mustered. With these troops Mullik Humeed re-entered the city at the Ghizny gate by surprise, but being opposed at the second gate, called Bhind, by Hajy Mowla and his associates, a sharp conflict ensued. Mullik Humeed, being dismounted, ran up to Hajy Mowla (who was leading on his party with great bravery), and dragging him from his horse, threw him down in the street and slew him, having himself, in the mean time, received several wounds. The faction of Hajy Mowla, dispirited by the death of their chief, gave ground, and dispersed throughout the city. Mullik Humeed, then proceeding to the ruby palace, deposed and slew Shah Nunny Alvy, causing his head to be exhibited on the point of a spear, and thus put an end to the rebellion. Aluf Khan, the King's brother, was directed to proceed to Dehly, in order to punish all who were supposed to have had any share in the late insurrection. The sons and the survivors of the family of the late Fukhr-ood-Deen, kotwal, were put to death, merely on suspicion, for no other cause than that the rebel had been one of their dependants.

Runtunbhore had now been closely besieged

for a whole year, and Alla-ood-Deen, after trying all other means, adopted the following expedient to reduce it. Having collected a multitude of people, and provided each with a bag filled with sand, they began, at some distance from the fort, to form an ascent to the top of the walls *, by which means the troops eventually obtained possession of the place. The Raja Humbur Dew, his family, and the garrison, were put to the sword. This fort is esteemed the strongest in Hindoostan. Ameer Mahomed Shah, the Mogul general, who had taken refuge in Runtunbhore, after the mutiny at Jalwur, having lost most of his men in defence of the fort, was himself lying ill of his wounds, when Alla-ood-Deen entered the place. Alla-ood-Deen, finding him in this condition asked him, in an insulting manner, "What gratitude would "he evince if the King should command his "wounds to be immediately cured?" The Mogul fiercely replied, "I would put you to death for "a tyrant, and endeavour to make the son of "Humbur Dew, to whom my gratitude is due, "king." Alla-ood-Deen, enraged at this reply, caused him to be thrown beneath the feet of an elephant. But considering, afterwards, that he was a brave man, and one whose gallantry he had often witnessed, he directed his body to be put in a coffin, and interred with decent solemnity.

The King then commanded that Runmul, the

* The real mode of using the sand bags has, probably, been misrepresented. We can imagine nothing more feeble than a garrison which could allow a gradual ascent of road to be made by the besiegers from the plain to the tops of the works.

Raja's minister, who had come over to the King with a strong party during the siege, should, with all his followers, be put to death, saying, "Those "who have betrayed their natural sovereign will "never be true to another." After which, bestowing the government of Runtunbhore, with all the booty taken in it, on his brother, Aluf Khan, the King returned to Dehly. But Aluf Khan, falling sick about six months after, died on his way to the capital.

Alla-ood-Deen after the late occurrences, becoming apprehensive of conspiracies against his person, summoned his nobles, and commanded them to give their opinion, without reserve, what should be done to avert these evils. At the same time, he called on them to state what they considered were the real causes of these disorders. They replied, that there were many sources out of which revolutions, dangerous and fatal in their consequences, might proceed. Among others, they hinted at the King's total inattention to business, and the consequent absence of all redress to his subjects. The excessive use of wine appeared to them also a source of many disorders, for when men form themselves into societies for the purpose of drinking, they unbosom their secret thoughts to each other, and are frequently excited to undertake desperate projects. The close connections formed among the nobles of the court they deemed also of danger to the state. Their numerous intermarriages, and the patronage in the hands of a few, gave them a degree of power, which enabled them, by coalition,

to create revolutions whenever so disposed. The last and not the least cause, they thought, arose from the unequal division of property: they considered that the wealth of a rich empire, if confined to a few persons, only rendered them, as governors of provinces, more like independent princes than subjects of the state.

Alla-ood-Deen, approved of many of the remarks of his counsellors, and immediately began to carry into execution the plan which they laid before him. He first applied himself to a strict enquiry into the administration of justice, to redress grievances, and to examine narrowly into the private as well as public characters of all men in office. He procured intelligence of the most secret discourses of families of note in the city, as well as of every transaction of moment in the most distant provinces, and executed justice with such rigour, that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure on the highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Kabul, and from Tulingana to Kashmeer. He published, also, an edict, prohibiting the use of wine and strong liquors on pain of death. He himself set the example, by emptying his cellars into the streets. In this he was followed by all ranks of people, so that, for some days, the common sewers flowed with wine. He issued orders that marriage, among the nobility, should not be ratified without a license from the crown; and that no private meetings or political discussions should be held among the nobles

of his court, which proved a severe check on the pleasures of society. This latter order was carried into effect so rigorously, that no man durst entertain his friends without a written permission from the Vizier. At length the King became so rapacious, that he seized the private property, and confiscated the estates both of Mussulmen and Hindoos, without distinction, and by this means accumulated immense treasures. Men, in short, were almost reduced to a level over all the empire. All emoluments were cut off from the different offices, which were now filled with men whose indigence rendered them the servile instruments of his government. He ordered a tax, equal to half the gross annual produce of the lands, to be levied throughout the kingdom *, and to be regularly

* The land-tax, or, more properly speaking, the land-rent, appears, from time immemorial, to have been the principal source of public revenue in almost all the countries of the East, and it indicates a very limited knowledge of the principles of political economy. The Hindoos demanded from their subjects a certain portion of the crop; the Mahomedans commuted this tax in kind into a money-payment, according to the relative value of the portion in kind, and the value of the precious metals. The British government, apparently losing sight altogether of the original Hindoo principle, which is capable of being continued for ever, is disposed to strike an average of the money-payments of ten or twenty years, and to fix a permanent assessment, in specie, on an article, the value of which fluctuates daily; and this with a view, it seems, of ensuring to the state a fixed revenue, and of limiting the demand on the cultivator: but, in truth, so far from making the assessment fixed, with regard to the agriculturist, it is, in reality, the most variable of all imposts. A tax, which has no reference to the value of the crop, may, in fact, be light one

transmitted to the exchequer. He appointed officers to superintend the revenue collectors, whose office it was to take care that the zemindars should demand no more from the cultivators than the estimate which the zemindars themselves had made; and in case of disobedience or neglect, the superintendents were obliged to refund the amount, and to pay a fine. The farmers were restricted to the occupation of a certain quantity of land, and to a limited number of servants and cattle. No grazier was allowed to have above a certain number of cows, sheep, and goats, and a tax was paid for keeping even that number, so that many of the village registrars abandoned their offices; and the mokuddums, or heads of villages, who formerly possessed large farms, and maintained expensive establishments, were obliged to dismiss them, and to cause many of the menial offices of their families to be performed by their own wives and children. Neither were they permitted to resign their employments, till they found others as capable as themselves to execute their duties. It was a common saying of the King, "That religion had no connection with civil government, "but was only the business, or rather amusement "of private life; and that the will of a wise prince "was better than the variable opinions of bodies "of men."

The King himself being wholly illiterate, it became a maxim, with the learned men at court,

year, when grain is scarce and dear, but it becomes onerous the moment the reverse takes place, and the demand for the raw produce slackens or ceases altogether.

to talk upon no subjects beyond the King's knowledge. He was, however, so sensible of the disadvantages under which he laboured, that he applied himself privately to study, and notwithstanding the difficulty of acquiring the knowledge of Persian, after he once bent his mind to it, he soon read all addresses, and made himself acquainted with the best authors in the language. After he had made such progress as to be able to take part in learned discourses, he encouraged literary subjects, and showed particular favour to all the eminent men of that age, particularly to Kazy Mowlana Kohramy, and Kazy Moghees-ood-Deen. He appointed the last of those learned men to explain the law to him; which he did, according to the true spirit, in every point upon which he was consulted. He did not, however, do it without fear and trembling, where it differed from the King's notions of good government.

The King, one day addressing himself to Kazy Moghees-ood-Deen, said, he wished to put a few questions to him on the subject of the law. As the King had not only never consulted the learned men on any former occasions, but had declared them all to be hypocrites and rogues, the Kazy was confounded, and replied, "I fear, by what your "Majesty proposes, that my last hour is come; if "so, and it be your Majesty's will, I am prepared to "die; but it will be only adding unnecessarily to "the crime, if I am to be punished for speaking "the truth, and according to the word of God." The King asked why he was afraid. He replied, "If I speak the truth, and your Majesty is

" offended, it may cost me my life, and if I speak " falsely, and your Majesty should ascertain the " truth from others, I shall then be deserving of " death." The King told him to allay his apprehensions, and to answer his questions in conformity with the law of the Prophet (on whom be the peace of God). — First question. " From what " description of Hindoos is it lawful to exact " obedience and tribute?" — Answer. " It is law- " ful to exact obedience and tribute from all in- " fidels, and they can only be considered as " obedient who pay the poll-tax and tribute " without demur, even should it be obtained by " force; for, according to the law of the Prophet, it " is written, regarding infidels, ' Tax them to the " extent that they can pay, or utterly destroy them.' " The learned of the faith have also enjoined the " followers of Islam, ' To slay them, or to convert " them to the faith;' a maxim conveyed in the " words of the Prophet himself. The Imam Hu- " neef, however, subsequently considers that the " poll-tax, or as heavy a tribute imposed upon " them as they can bear, may be substituted for " death, and he has accordingly forbidden that " their blood should be heedlessly spilt. So that " it is commanded that the Juzeea (poll-tax) and " Khiraj (tribute) should be exacted to the utter- " most farthing from them, in order that the " punishment may approximate as nearly as possi- " ble to death." * The King smiled and said,

* When we consider that the whole of the Hindoo population, under the Bengal presidency, is subjected to Mahomedan law alone, it is instructive to know what are the rights which the most orthodox of the FAITHFUL conceive them entitled to.

"You may perceive, that without reading learned "books, I am in the habit of putting in practice, "of my own accord, that which has been enjoined "by the Prophet." — Second question. "Is it "lawful to punish public servants who may be "guilty of taking bribes, or of defrauding the "government, in the same manner as if they had "committed theft, and were actually thieves?" — Answer. "If a public servant is handsomely "paid, according to the responsibility and labour "imposed on him, and he is then guilty of receiv- "ing bribes, or of extorting money by force from "those with whom he has business, it is lawful to "recover the same from him by any means which "the government may think fit; but it is unlawful "to deprive him of life or limb like a common "malefactor."

The King replied, "In this particular, also, I "have acted in conformity with the law; for I "make a point of exacting, even by rack and the "torture, all such sums as are proved to have been "fraudulently obtained by the public servants." — Third question. "Am I entitled to retain, as my "private property, the wealth I obtained during "my campaign against Dewgur, before I as- "cended the throne; or ought it to be placed in "the public treasury; and has the army any right "to a portion of that booty?" — Answer. "The "portion of the King, in that booty, is only one "share in common with every soldier who accom- "panied him on the expedition."

The King was displeased at this reply; and said, "How can that be considered public property, or

" belonging to the troops, which I obtained during " the time I was a general, and which was gained " through my own personal exertions?"

The Kazy replied, " Whatever the King may " have obtained by his individual exertion belongs " to him; but whatever is obtained by the exertion " of the troops, should be equally shared with them." — Fourth question. " What portion of the above " property belongs of right to me individually, and " to my children?"

The Kazy said, inwardly, My fate is now certainly determined; for since the King was angry at the former reply, that which I must now give will be still more offensive.

The King said, " Speak! I spare your life." The Kazy replied, " There are three modes in " which your Majesty may act."

" 1. If you mean to act with strict justice, " and according to the laws of the caliphs, you " will be content by retaining for yourself one " portion in common with others who shared in " the danger.

" 2. If you would take a middle course, you " will retain for yourself a share equal to the " largest portion of the booty which has fallen to " the lot of any single officer in the expedition."

" 3. If your Majesty, on the other hand, " adopts the opinions which will be given probably " by such learned men who look out for passages " in the holy books, as authority in order to recon- " cile the minds of kings to despotic acts, you will " reserve for yourself out of that booty a portion " something greater than any other of the gene-

" rals, and such as may be suitable to the splen-
" dour and dignity of the crown; but I cannot
" think that the King can found a plea to any
" thing beyond this; your royal children may, also,
" on the same grounds, each be allowed a portion,
" either equal to a share of each common soldier, or
" to the share of an officer of rank." The King became angry, and said, " Do you mean to assert,
" then, that the private expenses of my household,
" and the money which is distributed in presents
" and rewards, is done contrary to the law." The Kazy replied, " When the King consults me on
" points of law, I am compelled to answer accord-
" ing to the written law of the Koran; but if you
" ask me on the score of policy and government,
" I can only say whatever you do is right; and
" according to the custom of governments, the
" more you accumulate and expend, the greater is
" the splendour which attends your court and
" your reign." Upon this the King said, " I am
" in the habit of stopping one months' pay for
" three successive years, from every soldier who
" neglects to appear at muster; I always make it
" a rule, also, to extirpate every living soul of the
" family of a person going into rebellion, and to
" confiscate the whole of their property, in what-
" ever country it may be. Do you mean to say,
" also, that it is unlawful to exact fines from forni-
" cators, thieves, and drunkards?"

The Kazy, overpowered by the language and manner of the King, got up, and went as far as the threshold of the hall, where he prostrated himself, and as he rose pronounced, " Oh, King, all

"that thou doest is contrary to law;" with this he absconded. The King retired in a great fury to the private apartments, while the Kazy, having reached his home, made his will, and sat patiently and resigned, awaiting the arrival of the executioner.

On the following day, contrary to his expectation, the King sent for the Kazy, and received him with great kindness. He conferred on him a handsome gold embroidered vest, and a purse of 1000 tunkas, and said, "Although I have not had "the advantage of reading books like yourself, I "can never forget that I was born the son of a "Mussulman; and while I am quite prepared to "admit the truth of all you say, yet, if the "doctrines which you call law were put in prac- "tice, they alone would not answer the purpose of "government, and more particularly such a go- "vernment as this of Hindoostan. Unless severe "punishments were inflicted for crimes they "could never be checked; so that while I act "with rigour in all such cases, according to the "best of my judgment, I place reliance on God, "that, if I have erred, the door of mercy will be "open to me a repentant sinner."

Alla-ood-Deen about this time sent an army by the way of Bengal to reduce the fort of Wurungole in Tulingana, while he himself marched towards Chittoor, a place never before attacked by the troops of the Mahomedans. After a siege of six months, Chittoor was reduced in the year 703, and the government of it conferred on the King's eldest son, the Prince

A. H. 703.
A. D. 1303.

Khizr Khan, after whom it was called Khizrabad. At the same time, the King bestowed upon Khizr Khan regal dignities, and he was publicly proclaimed successor to the throne. Intelligence of these distant expeditions becoming known in Mawur-ool-Nehr, Toorghay Khan, the Mogul chief who had distinguished himself formerly against Zuffur Khan, thinking that Alla-ood-Deen would for a long time be absent, seized the opportunity of invading Hindoostan. The King, hearing of this dangerous inroad, abandoned, for the present, his designs on the Deccan, and caused his army to return to Dehly. Toorghay Khan, with twelve tomans of Mogul horse, amounting to 120,000 men, reached the capital, and encamped on the banks of the Jumna. The cavalry of the Indian army being absent on the expedition to Wurungole, the King was in no condition to face the enemy on equal terms, and therefore contented himself with entrenching his infantry on the plain beyond the suburbs, till he could collect the forces of the distant districts. The Moguls, meanwhile, having command of the adjacent country, prevented all succours from joining the Indians, and proceeded to such lengths as to plunder the suburbs of Dehly, in the King's presence, without his being able to check them. Affairs remained in this state for two months; when Alla-ood-Deen, according to some authors, had recourse to supernatural aid, and applied to a saint of those days, whose name was Nizam-ood-Deen Owlia. The effect was, that, one night, without any apparent cause, the Mogul army was seized with a panic, which

occasioned their precipitate retreat to their own country; an event ascribed by the historians of the day, and by the people of Dehly, to the miraculous intervention of the saint. The King, during this alarming period, was constrained to confess, that his ideas of universal conquest were absurd.

Alla-ood-Deen, relieved from the perils of this invasion, caused a palace to be built upon the spot where he had entrenched himself, and directed the citadel of Old Dehly to be pulled down, and built anew. But apprehensive of another invasion of the Moguls, he increased his forces so greatly, that upon calculating the expense, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself amassed, could not support them above six years. In this dilemma he resolved to reduce the pay of the army, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering, proportionably, the price of horses, arms, and provision. He therefore caused an edict to be proclaimed, which he strictly enforced throughout the empire, fixing the price of every article of consumption. To accomplish the reduction of the prices of grain, in particular, he caused large magazines to be built upon the rivers Jumna and Ganges, and other places convenient for water-carriage, under the direction of Mullik Kubool. This person was authorised to receive half of the land tax in grain; and the government agent supplied the markets when any articles rose above the fixed price.

The first regulation was established for fixing

the prices of grain at Dehly, from which we may suppose what those were for the country towns: —

Wheat, per domuny, 7½ jeetuls. *
Barley, domuny, 4 jeetuls.
Cheny, domuny, 5 jeetuls.
Rice in the husk, ditto, 5 jeetuls.
Oorud in the husk, ditto, 3 jeetuls.
Mutt in the husk, ditto, 3 jeetuls.

The prices remained fixed during this reign; but, in consequence of a want of water, a dearth ensued, and a difference took place in practice. It is difficult to conceive how so extraordinary a project should have been put in practice, without defeating its own end. Such a plan was neither before ever carried into effect, or has it been tried since; but it is confidently asserted, that the orders continued throughout the reign of this monarch. † The importation of grain was encouraged; while to export it, or any other article of provision, was a capital crime. The King himself had a daily report laid before him of the quantity sold and remaining in the several granaries; and overseers

* The domuny is equal to 2lbs., and the jeetul, a copper coin, weighing 6dwts.

† Ferishta, without being aware of it, is obliged to confess, that though the orders continued unannulled, the practice was at variance with them, owing to the dearth which ensued, as he states, for want of water. Such a cause might have increased the calamity, but was not requisite to produce it. The period was too remote for Ferishta to become personally acquainted with the fact.

were appointed in the different markets to inform him of abuses, which were punished with the utmost rigour. Alla-ood-Deen established also a public office and inspectors, who fixed the price of the various kinds of cloth, according to its quality, obliging the merchants to open their shops at certain hours every day, and sell their goods at the stipulated prices.

The prices established for cloth formed the second regulation: —

	Tunkas.	Jeetuls.
Cheer, Dehly, per piece * - -	16	0
Cheer, Kotla, ditto - -	6	0
Cheer, common, ditto - -	3	0
Kullaye, ditto - - -	0	8
Koorsy, ditto - - -	0	6
Nal Nagory, ditto - -	0	24
Siree Saf, fine, ditto - -	5	0
Ditto, ditto, middling, ditto -	3	0
Ditto, ditto, coarse, ditto -	2	0
Sillahutty, fine, ditto - -	4	0
Ditto, middling, ditto -	3	0
Ditto, coarse, ditto -	2	0
Kirpas, fine, 20 guz †, - -	1	0
Ditto, middling, 30 ditto -	1	0
Ditto coarse, 40 ditto -	1	4

The treasury, at the same time, opened a loan, by which merchants were enabled to procure ready

* The names of these cloths are many of them lost.

† The guz varies from 21 to 32 inches.

money to import cloth from the neighbouring countries, where the poverty of the people rendered their manufactures cheaper. But what is somewhat unaccountable, while the exportation of the finer kind of manufacture was prohibited, it was not permitted to be worn at home, except by special authority from the King, which favour was only granted to men of rank.

As the value of horses had risen greatly by combination amongst the dealers, who bought them all up from the Persian and northern merchants to enhance the price, the King published an edict, by which merchants were obliged to register the prices paid for horses, and to sell them at a certain profit within a limited time, if that price was offered them, otherwise the King took them upon his own account.

The third regulation fixed the prices of horses:—

1st class of horses from 100 to 120 tunkas.*
2d class of horses from 80 to 90 ditto.
3d class of horses from 65 to 70 ditto.
Ponies, from 12 to 20 ditto.

Care was taken that the merchants who brought those animals should not sell them to dealers wholesale, but reserve them for persons who wanted them for use. As many frauds were practised in spite of this regulation, a number of horse-dealers were whipt out of the city, and others even put to death.

* 160 rupees.

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The fourth regulation regarded the sale of slaves of both sexes:—

1st class, from 100 to 200 tunkas.
2d class, from 20 to 40 ditto.
3d class, from 5 to 10 ditto.

The fifth regulation regarded the sale of cattle, oxen, sheep, goats, camels, and asses: in short, every useful animal, and all commodities, were sold at a stated price in the markets.

These regulations extended even to the price of grocery:—

Sugar-candy, 1 seer, 2 jeetuls.
Moist sugar, 1 seer, 1 jeetul.
Red and coarse sugar, 1 seer, ½ jeetul.
Lamp oil, 3 seers, 1 jeetul.
Ghee (clarified butter), 1 seer, ½ jeetul.
Salt, 5 seers, 1 jeetul.
Onions and garlick, 1 seer, 1 jeetul.

The King received daily reports from three different departments on this subject; and he even employed the boys in the street to go and purchase articles, to ascertain that no variation took place from the fixed rates.

It is related in the Moolhikat of Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen Beejapoory, that one of his favourites, by way of a joke, proposed a fixed price for prostitution; and the King, smiling, said, Very well, that shall be fixed also. Accordingly, prostitutes were classed under the denomination of first, second, and third, and a price fixed on them.

In order to comprehend the true value of the money of that day, it is proper to state, that a tunka was equal to a tola in weight, whether of gold or silver, and a tunka of silver was equal to 50 jeetuls. The jeetul was a small copper coin, the weight of which is not now known. Some conceive it was a tola; while others are of opinion, that the jeetul, like the pice of the present day, weighed ¾ of a tola. The maund of the time of Julal-ood-Deen weighed 40 seers, and each seer weighed 24 tolas. It is to be understood, whenever I speak of tolas generally, I mean silver tolas; and this may serve as a guide to all calculations hereafter in this work.*

The King having thus regulated the prices of articles, his next care was to new-model his army. He settled the pay of every horseman for himself and his horse. The first class had 234 tunkas, the second class, 156, and the third class, 88 tunkas annually, according to the goodness of the horse; and, upon a muster, he found his cavalry to consist of 475,000.†

* A sicca rupee of the present day, weighs one tola, or nearly 8 dwts of silver, and is worth 48. 6d. or 76 copperpice, according to the size, which varies in different parts of India; so that if we substitute the word rupee for tunka, and pice for jeetul, we shall approach as near to the truth, as the text will allow, and sufficiently so as to give the reader some general notion of the value of the coins above alluded to.

† We ought to be able to form some notion of the value of the precious metals in India, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, when we know that the first class of horsemen received 234 tunkas or rupees annually, and that the same class only receive 360 annually, in the nineteenth century. But all in-

A. H. 704. A D. 1304. In the mean time, in the year 704, Ally Beg (one of the descendants of Chungiz Khan) and Khwaja Tash, with 40,000 horse, made an irruption into India. They passed to the north of Lahore, and skirting the Sewalik mountains, penetrated without opposition to Amroha. The King sent Toghluk Khan with a force against them; and the Moguls were defeated, with the loss of 7000 men killed and wounded. Ally Beg and Khwaja Tash, with 9000 of their troops, were made prisoners, and sent in chains to the King, who ordered the chiefs to be thrown under the feet of elephants, and the soldiers to be put to death; while, as a reward for his services, Toghluk Khan was nominated viceroy of Punjab.

Aluf Khan* was, about this time, appointed governor and commander of the troops in Guzerat, and sent thither with a great force. Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany, another chieftain, was also sent with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka, the Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajpoot horse, and 100,000 foot. In the engagement which ensued, Ein-ool-Moolk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Oojein, Mando, Dharanuggurry, and Chundery. After these successes, he wrote an account of the same to the

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formation on these subjects leads to the conclusion, that the relative value of the precious metals was much greater in the fourteenth century all over the world, than it is here represented, and consequently, that the pay of the soldier was very much higher then, than in modern times.

* The author of the Mirut Ahmudy, a very modern work, relates, that a mosque, built by Aluf Khan, at Nehrwala, is still standing.

King, who, on receiving it, commanded illuminations to be made for seven days throughout the city of Dehly. Nehr Dew, Raja of Jalwur, panic-struck at the rapid progress of Ein-ool-Moolk, surrendered that place without opposition. At this time, however, Ray Ruttun Sein, the Raja of Chittoor, who had been prisoner since the King had taken the fort, made his escape in an extraordinary manner. Alla-ood-Deen, having received an extravagant account of the beauty and accomplishments of one of the Raja's daughters, told him, that if he would deliver her over to him, he should be released. The Raja, who was very ill treated during his confinement, consented, and sent for his daughter, with a manifest design to prostitute her to the King. The Raja's family, however, hearing of this dishonourable proposal, concerted measures for poisoning the Princess, to save the reputation of the house. But the Raja's daughter contrived a stratagem by which she proposed to procure her father's release, and preserve her own honour. She accordingly wrote to her father, to let it be known that she was coming with all her attendants, and would be at Dehly on a certain day, acquainting him with the part she intended to act. Her contrivance was this. Having selected a number of the dependents of the family, who, in complete armour, concealed themselves in litters (such as are used by women), she proceeded with such a retinue of horse and foot, as is customary to guard ladies of rank. Through her father's means, she received the King's passport, and the cavalcade proceeding by slow marches to Dehly, was ad-

mitted without interruption. It was night when the party arrived, and, by the King's especial permission, the litters were allowed to be carried into the prison, the attendants having taken their stations without. No sooner were they within the walls, than the armed men leaping out of the litters, put the King's guards to the sword, and carried off the Raja. Horses being already prepared for his flight, he mounted one, and rushing with his attendants through the city, before opposition could be made, fled to his own country among the hills, where his family were concealed. Thus, by the exertions of his ingenious daughter, the Raja effected his escape, and from that day continued to ravage the country then in possession of the Mahomedans. At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the King ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the Raja. This Hindoo prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoor as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of this reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5000 horse and 10,000 foot.

A. H. 705. A. D. 1305. In the year 705, Eibuk Khan, an officer of Ameer Dawood Khan, ruler of Mawur-ool-Nehr, in order to revenge the death of Ally Beg and Khwaja Tash, invading Hindoostan, ravaged Mooltan, and proceeded to Sewalik. Ghazy Beg Toghluk, in the mean time, having taken up a position in ambuscade, on the

banks of the Indus, awaited the return of the Moguls to their country, and falling suddenly upon them, defeated them with great slaughter. Those who escaped the sword, finding it impossible to force their way home, retired into the desert, where thirst and the hot winds which blow at that season put an end to their miserable lives; so that out of 57,000 cavalry, besides their followers, who were still more numerous, only 3000 souls who were taken prisoners survived this defeat. These unfortunate wretches were reserved for a miserable fate. They were sent to Dehly with their chief, Eibuk Khan, where, being trodden to death by elephants, a pillar was raised before the Budaoon gate, formed of their skulls; and I am informed that a portion of it is to be seen at this day. All the Mogul women and children taken in this war were sent to different parts of the kingdom to be sold, in the markets, as slaves. These repeated misfortunes did not deter the Moguls; for soon after Yekbalmund, a chief of reputation, again invaded Hindoostan. But Ghazy Beg Toghluk also defeated the Moguls with great slaughter, and sent some thousand prisoners to Dehly, who were put to death according to the custom of the times. From henceforward the Moguls gave over all thoughts of invading Hindoostan for many years, and were even hard pressed to defend themselves; for Ghazy Beg Toghluk, making incursions into their country every year, plundered the provinces of Kabul, Ghizny, Kandahar, and Gurmseer, and laid the inhabitants under heavy contributions.

In the mean time Alla-ood-Deen was employed

in the improvement of his internal government; and had such extraordinary success in whatever he undertook, that the superstition of the times ascribed it to supernatural agency, so much were people amazed at the good effects that resulted from his measures. Ram Dew, Raja of Dewgur, having neglected to send the tribute for the last three years, Mullik Kafoor (known by the name of Huzar Deenary *) was invested with the title of Mullik Naib, and placed in command of an army. Accompanied by many officers of renown, he was ordered to subdue the countries of the south of India, which, according to the language of the people, is denominated Deccan. The Emperor's attachment to Mullik Kafoor exceeded all bounds, and his wish now was to raise him to distinction among the nobles. The army was put under his especial charge, and the nobles were directed to pay their respects to him daily, as to a sovereign. This created great disgust, but no one durst complain. Khwaja Hajy, a man much esteemed in those days for his good principles, was appointed second in command in this expedition, which, (according to the authority of Kazy Ahmud Ghufary, who composed the Jehan-Ara,) in the beginning of the year 706, marched from Dehly, consisting of an army of 100,000 horse. This expedition was reinforced on the way by the troops of Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany, governor of Malwa, and Aluf Khan,

A. H. 706.
A. D. 1306.

* He derived this title from having been originally purchased for a thousand deenars.

governor of Guzerat. Kowla Devy, one of the King's wives, and who has been before mentioned, hearing of this expedition, addressing herself to the King, told him, that before she was taken prisoner, she had borne two daughters to her former husband. That one of them (the eldest,) she heard, had since died, but that the other, whose name was Dewul Devy, and who was only four years old when she left her, was still alive. She, therefore, begged that the King would give orders to his generals to endeavour to get possession of her and send her to Dehly.

Mullik Naib Kafoor passed through Malwa, and having encamped on the borders of the Deccan, sent the King's order to Kurrun Ray, to deliver up his daughter Dewul Devy, which was now urged as a pretext for commencing hostilities in case of refusal. The Raja could by no means be brought to agree to this demand. According to the Moolhikat, Mullik Naib Kafoor, encamped for some time in the district called Sooltanpoor, and he states that the district and town had this name from that time. Finding he could make no impression on the rajas in that vicinity, Mullik Naib in person, marched from thence, directing Aluf Khan, with his forces from Guzerat, to join him by the route leading through the mountains of Buglana, so as both to enter the Deccan together. Aluf Khan was opposed by Kurrun Ray, who for two months defeated him in every attempt to force his passage, in which time several actions were fought. Shunkul Dew, the Prince of Dewgur, had long sought to obtain the hand of the young Dewul

Devy; but she being of the tribe of Rajpoot, and Shunkul Dew a Mahratta, her father withheld his consent to their union. At this time, however, Shunkul Dew sent his own brother, Bheem Dew, with presents to Kurrun Ray, persuading him, that as Dewul Devy was the occasion of the war, if he would deliver her over to him, the troops of the Mahomedans, in despair of obtaining their end, would return to their own country. Kurrun Ray, relying much on the young Prince's aid, consented to the proposal, and reluctantly gave his daughter, then in her thirteenth year, in marriage to Shunkul Dew.

Aluf Khan, hearing this, was much concerned lest the King should impute this circumstance to his neglect, and resolved, at all events, if possible, to secure her before her departure. He was apprehensive that his own life depended on success. He acquainted his officers with the peculiarity of his situation, and they unanimously promised him their support. They entered the mountains in several directions, and engaging the Raja, gave him a total defeat. Kurrun Ray fled to Dewgur, leaving his elephants, tents, and equipage on the field. Aluf Khan pursued him through several passes for some time, and at length was within one march of Dewgur. Having entirely lost the track of the fugitives, he was in deep despair, when an accident threw the object of his desire in his way. While halting, for two days, to refresh his army among the mountains, some of his troops, to the number of 300, went without leave to see the caves of Elloora, in the neighbourhood of Dewgur, from

which city his camp was not far distant. During this excursion, they perceived a body of horse approaching, whom they apprehended to belong to Shunkul Dew. Although they were few in number, the Mahomedans saw no safety in flight, but determined to stand on the defensive, and accordingly prepared to receive the enemy. This troop proved to be the retinue of Bheem Dew, who was conveying the young bride to his brother. The two parties instantly engaged, but the Hindoos were put to flight, while an arrow having pierced the horse of Dewul Devy, she fell, and was left on the ground. The conquerors seeing her, gathered round her horse, and commenced a bloody scuffle with the enemy for the prize. This might have proved fatal to the object of their contention, had not one of her female slaves discovered her name and quality, conjuring them to carry her to their commander. On hearing this the soldiers knew the peril of treating her with indignity; and while an express was despatched with the news to Aluf Khan, they conducted her with great care and respect to his camp.

Aluf Khan, having obtained this prize, was exceedingly rejoiced, knowing how acceptable it would be to his sovereign, over whom the lady's mother had so great influence. He, therefore, prosecuted his conquests no further, but returned to Guzerat, and proceeded from thence, with Dewul Devy, to Dehly, where he presented her to her mother. In a few days after her arrival, her beauty inflamed the heart of the King's son, Khizr Khan, to whom she was even-

tually given in marriage. The history of the loves of this illustrious pair is written in an elegant poem composed by Ameer Khoosrow Dehlvy. Let us now return to Mullik Naib Kafoor, whom we left entering the Deccan. Having first subdued great part of the country of the Mahrattas, which he distributed among his officers, he proceeded to the siege of Dewgur, since known by the name of Dowlutabad. Ram Dew, being in no condition to oppose the Mahomedan troops, left his son Shunkul Dew in the fort, and advanced with presents to meet the conqueror, in order to obtain peace. Mullik Naib Kafoor, accordingly, having drawn up an account of his expedition sent it to the King, and some time after brought Ram Dew to Dehly, with rich presents and seventeen elephants, to pay his respects, where he was received with great marks of favour and distinction. Ram Dew had royal dignities conferred upon him; the title of Ray Rayan was granted to him, and he was not only restored to his government, but other districts were added to his dominions, for all of which he did homage, and paid tribute to the King of Dehly. The King, on this occasion, gave him the district of Nowsary, near Guzerat, as a personal estate, and a lack of tunkas to bear his expenses home. Nor did Ram Dew neglect to send the annual tribute to Dehly during his lifetime.

During the absence of Mullik Kafoor on this expedition, the King employed himself in taking a strong fort to the southward of Dehly, belonging

to Seetul Dew, Raja of Sewana, which had often been attempted in vain. When Seetul Dew, Raja of Sewana, found he could hold out no longer, he sent his own image, which had been cast in pure gold, to Alla-ood-Deen, with a chain round its neck in token of submission. This present was accompanied with a hundred elephants, and other precious effects, in hopes of procuring peace. Alla-ood-Deen received the presents, but returned him for answer, that unless he came and made his submission in person, he could hope little from his dumb representative. The Raja, finding his enemy inexorable, threw himself upon his mercy, and delivered up the place, which, after being given over to plunder, was again restored. But the King alienated a great part of the Raja's country to his favourite chiefs, and compelled the Raja to do homage for the remainder.

It is related that the Raja of Jalwur, Nehr Dew, as has been stated above, resided at the court of Dehly. One day the King was boasting, that at the present day no raja of Hindoostan dared to oppose his arms; on which Nehr Dew, in the plenitude of folly, replied, "I will suffer death, if I "do not myself raise an army that shall defeat any "attempt of the King's troops to take the fort of "Jalwur." The King directed him to quit the court, and finding he was collecting troops, ordered a division of the army to besiege Jalwur; and the more to show his contempt for Nehr Dew, placed the troops under the command of one of the slave girls of the palace, called Gool Behisht, "the Rose "of Heaven." She had nearly succeeded in taking

the fort, and evinced great bravery, but she fell sick and died. The siege was then conducted by her son Shaheen. Nehr Dew quitted the fort, and attacking the royal army, slew Shaheen, with his own hand, and the Mahomedans retreated four days successively towards Dehly. Alla-ood-Deen, vexed at this repulse, sent strong reinforcements under Kumal-ood-Deen, a general of distinction, who succeeded at last in taking Jalwur by storm, and made a dreadful slaughter of the garrison, putting Nehr Dew and his family to the sword, and plundering all his treasures. The news of this event created great joy at the capital.

About this time the King, being informed that an expedition, which he had sent by the way of Bengal to Wurungole, in the country of Tulingana, had failed, and that his army on that side had been obliged to retreat in great distress, he sent Mullik Kafoor with another army to invade that country, by the way of Dewgur. This chief had orders, that if Luddur Dew, Raja of Wurungole, should consent to give him a handsome present, and promise an annual tribute, to return without prosecuting the war. When Mullik Kafoor and Khwaja Hajy had reached Dewgur, Ram Dew came out to meet them with offerings, and carrying them home, entertained them with great hospitality. He also ordered his markets to the camp, with strict orders to sell every thing according to the King's established prices in his own dominions. Mullik Kafoor, having marched from Dewgur, appeared at

A. H. 709.
A. D. 1309.

Indore*, on the frontiers of Tulingana, and issued orders to lay waste the country with fire and sword. This confounded the inhabitants, who had never injured their wanton enemies. Meanwhile the neighbouring rajas hastened with their forces to support Luddur Dew at this alarming crisis; but as the Moslem army proceeded by forced marches, the Raja was compelled, before the arrival of his allies to shut himself up in the fort of Wurungole, a place of great strength. The allied rajas also occupied several other strong holds in the country. Mullik Kafoor immediately invested Wurungole and began his attacks, which were repelled with great bravery. Notwithstanding the interruptions that Mullik Kafoor received from the auxiliary rajas without the place, the town of Wurungole, after some months' siege, was taken by assault, and many of the garrison put to the sword; because the inner fort, to which Luddur Dew had retired, was insufficient to contain the whole. Luddur Dew, driven to this extremity, purchased peace by presenting 300 elephants, 7000 horses, and money and jewels to a large amount; agreeing, at the same time, to pay an annual tribute. Mullik Kafoor, after this advantageous peace, returned with his army to Dehly. He despatched before him the account of his victories, which was read from the pulpit, and public rejoicings were ordered. On his approach to the city, the King himself came out to the Chubootra Nasiry, near the Bu-

* This town is situated about 60 miles due west of the city of Hyderabad, in the Deccan, and must not be confounded with that of the same name in Malwa.

daoon gate, to receive him, and there the conqueror laid all the spoils at his sovereign's feet.

A. H. 710. A. D. 1310. In the year 710, the King again sent Mullik Kafoor and Khwaja Hajy, with a great army, to reduce Dwara Sumoodra and Maabir * in the Deccan, where he heard there were temples very rich in gold and jewels. Having reached Dewgur, they found that Ram Dew, the old King, was dead, and that the young Prince, Shunkul Dew, was not well affected to the Mahomedans. Leaving, therefore, some officers with part of the army at the town of Peitun, on the Godavery, Mullik Kafoor continued his march to the south. When the Mahomedans crossed the Raja's boundary, they began to lay waste the country, and eventually reached the sea-coast, after three months' march from Dehly; during a great part of which time they were opposed by the Hindoos, whose countries they traversed. Among others they engaged Bilal Dew, Raja of the Carnatic †, and defeating him, took him prisoner, and ravaged his territory. They found in the temples prodigious spoils, such as idols of gold, adorned with precious stones, and other rich effects, consecrated to Hindoo worship. On the sea-coast, the conqueror built a small mosque, and ordered prayers to be read ac-

* The Mahomedans of India, in common with the Arabs, call all the west coast of India, Maabir, or the Landing-place, from their making it the first land after they leave Arabia.

† By the Carnatic, must be understood the country lying south of Satara and Beejapoor as far as Mysoor. The Carnatic of Europeans forms no part of the Carnatic kingdom or nation, but belongs to the geographical division, termed Draveda.

cording to the Mahomedan faith, and the Khootba to be pronounced in the name of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy. This mosque remains entire in our days at Sett Bund Rameswur*; for the infidels, esteeming it a house consecrated to God, would not destroy it. The town of Dwara Sumoodra has, I understand, by the encroachment of the sea, been destroyed, and now lies in ruins.

Mullik Kafoor, having effected the object of his expedition, prepared to return to Dehly with the spoils. The night before his intended march, a quarrel arose among some brahmins, who had taken refuge in his camp. Some one who understood their language found the quarrel regarded hidden treasures, which being communicated to the superintendent of the market, the brahmins were seized and carried to Mullik Kafoor. At first, they denied any knowledge of the treasures; but their lives being threatened, and each being questioned apart, and apprehensive that one would inform against the other, they at length discovered the secret. Seven different places were pointed out near the camp, where treasures were concealed. These being dug up, and placed upon elephants, Mullik Kafoor returned to Dehly, where he arrived, without any remarkable occurrence, in the year 711. He presented the King with 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and other precious effects. Alla-ood-

A.H. 711.
A.D. 1311.

* The Rameshwur, here alluded to, must be the point of that name in Canara, south of Goa, and not that at "Adam's Bridge," on the gulf of Manar.

Deen, on seeing this treasure, which exceeded that of the Badawurd of Purveez*, was greatly rejoiced, and rewarded all his officers with largesses. To each of the principal offices he gave ten maunds of gold, and to the inferior five. The learned men of his court each received one maund; and thus in proportion he distributed wealth to his servants, according to their rank and quality. The remainder was melted down, coined, and lodged in the treasury. It is remarkable that silver is not mentioned, as having been taken during this expedition to the Carnatic, and there is reason to conclude that silver was not used as coin in that country at all in those days. No person wore bracelets, chains, or rings of any other metal than gold; while all the plate in the houses of the great, and in the temples, was of beaten gold. †

Amongst other extraordinary events of this reign is the massacre of the newly converted Mahomedan Moguls. Although no particular cause is assigned for it, the King suddenly took it into his head to discharge all the soldiers of this class, desiring them to look out for other service.

* Alluding to a vast treasure said to have been obtained by Purveez, from a vessel driven on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, and hence denominated the Badawurd, or that which was brought by the force of the winds.

† It is also worthy of notice that up to a very late period, the current coin in the south of India was chiefly gold, a small coin called the gold fulum or fanam, worth only about sixpence, was current in large quantities; the vast importation of gold, however, into England, during the last 15 years, has almost drained India of that metal.

Some of them engaged with the omras; but the major part remained at Dehly in great distress, in hopes that the King would relent on seeing their wretched condition. He, however, remained obdurate; and some daring fellows among them, forced by their misfortunes, entered into a conspiracy to murder him. This plot being discovered, Alla-ood-Deen, instead of merely punishing the conspirators, extended his rigour to the whole body. He ordered them all to be instantly put to the sword; so that 15,000 of those unhappy wretches lay dead in the streets of Dehly in one day, and all their wives and children were enslaved. The King was so inexorable and vindictive, that no one durst attempt to conceal (however nearly connected) one of this unfortunate race, and not one of them is supposed to have escaped.

The King, elated by the success of his arms, abandoned himself to inordinate pride. He listened no longer to advice, as he sometimes condescended to do in the beginning of his reign, but every thing was executed by his irrevocable word. Yet it is related, that the empire never flourished so much as in this reign. Order and justice prevailed in the most distant provinces, and magnificence raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, mausolea, forts, and all kinds of public and private buildings, seemed to rise as if by magic. Neither did there, in any age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty-five doctors, skilled in the sciences, were professors in the universities.

Among the holy men were the following: Sheikh

Nizam-ood-Deen Owlia of Dehly, Sheikh Alla-ood-Deen, the grandson of the celebrated Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Shukrgunj of Ajoodhun, Sheikh Rookn-ood-Deen, the son of Sudr-ood-Deen Aarif, and grandson of the famous Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen Zacharia of Mooltan. The family of this latter personage had such influence, that persons guilty of almost any crime were protected if they sought an asylum with them. Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen Zacharia left enormous wealth to his descendants, the whole of which was expended in charity by his son and grandson. Besides these, was Syud Taj-ood-Deen, the son of Syud Kootb-ood-Deen, remarkable for his profound learning, and his extensive charities. He was originally Kazy of Oude, and eventually died Kazy of Budaoon. His brother, Syud Rookn-ood-Deen, Kazy of Kurra, was also celebrated among the learned men of his time. At Keytuhl, also, there were two brothers famous for their learning, and the sanctity of their lives, namely, Syud Mogheis-ood-Deen, and Mountujib-ood-Deen, who were styled the Nowayut Syuds.

Among the poets of this reign, we may record the names of

Ameer Khoosrow Dehlvy.
Ameer Hussun Sunjurry.
Sudr-ood-Deen Aaly.
Fukr-ood-Deen Khowass.
Humeed-ood-Deen Raja.
Mowlana Aarif.
Abdool Hukeem.
Shahab-ood-Deen Sudr Nisheen.

Besides whom were several historians and compilers of memoirs of the times. Most of the above-mentioned persons received pensions from the court.

But the King seemed to have now reached the zenith of his splendour and power; and as every thing is liable to perish, and stability belongs to God alone, so the fulness of the King's prosperity began to decline, and the lustre of his reign to fade away. He resigned the reins of government entirely into the hands of Mullik Kafoor, whom he blindly supported in every impolitic and tyrannical measure. This gave disgust to the nobles, and caused universal discontent among the people. He neglected the education of his own children, who were removed from the seraglio, when very young, and entrusted with independent power. Khizr Khan was made viceroy of Chittoor, when as yet a boy, without any person of wisdom to advise him or to superintend his conduct, while Shady Khan, Moobaruk Khan, and Shahab-ood-Deen, the other princes, held public offices of the same important nature.

The Raja of Tulingana, about this time, sent some presents and 20 elephants to the King, with a letter informing him that the tribute, which he had agreed to pay in his treaty with Mullik Kafoor, was ready. Mullik Kafoor, upon this, desired leave of the King to make another expedition into the Deccan, promising that he would not only collect the tribute, but bring the Raja of Dewgur and others, who had withheld it, under due subjection. Mullik Kafoor was principally moved to this by his jealousy of

Khizr Khan, the declared heir to the empire, whose government lay most convenient for that expedition, and whom he feared the King intended to send to the south. Alla-ood-Deen consented to Mullik Kafoor's proposal, who accordingly proceeded the fourth time to the Deccan in the year 712.

A. H. 712. A. D. 1312. He seized the Raja of Dewgur, and inhumanly put him to death. He then laid waste the countries of Mahrashtra and Canara, from Dabul and Choule, as far as Rachoor and Moodkul; he afterwards took up his residence at Dewgur, and realising the tribute from the Princes of Tulingana and the Carnatic, despatched the whole to Dehly.

Alla-ood-Deen, by this time, owing to his intemperance and excess, had ruined his constitution, and was taken extremely ill. His wife, Mullika Jehan *, and her son Khizr Khan, neglected him entirely, and spent their time in riot and revelry. The King's strength daily giving way, he ordered Mullik Kafoor from the Deccan, and Aluf Khan from Guzerat, complaining to them in private of the undutiful and cruel behaviour of his wife and son towards him during his illness. Mullik Kafoor, who had long aspired to the throne, now began seriously to form schemes for the extirpation of the royal line. He therefore insinuated to the King, that Khizr Khan, the Queen, and Aluf Khan, had conspired against his life, and that which gave an

* This appellation, signifying Queen of the Universe, was assumed by many of the Queens of Dehly; this lady, therefore, is not to be confounded with the dowager queen-mother, Mullika Jehan, of the last monarch, Julal-ood-Deen Khiljy.

air of probability to the accusation was, that at this time the Queen was very urgent to procure one of Aluf Khan's daughters to be married to her son Shady Khan. Mullik Kafoor did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, so that the King at length being suspicious of treachery, ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to Amroha, there to continue till he himself should recover from his indisposition. Though Khizr Khan was full of the follies of youth, his father's order made a deep impression on his mind, and he felt conscious of having neglected him. At his departure, he therefore took an oath privately, that if God should spare the life of his father, he would return all the way on foot to the capital; and when he heard that his father's health began to recover, he steadily fulfilled his vow, before he waited on him. The traitor, Mullik Kafoor, turned this act of filial piety entirely against Khizr Khan. He insinuated that his behaviour, by such a sudden change, could be imputed to nothing but hypocrisy; and ascribed his disobedience of coming without his father's leave, to an intention, on his part, of intriguing with the nobles, in order to excite a revolution. Alla-ood-Deen did not give entire credit to these insinuations; but sending for Khizr Khan, embraced him to try his affection, and seeing him weep, seemed convinced of his sincerity, and ordered him into the seraglio, to see his mother and sisters. Unhappily for this prince, the giddiness of youth made him deviate again into his former wild habits. He neglected for several days to visit his father, during which time his subtle enemy gained over some of the

King's private domestics, and induced them to support his aspersions against Khizr Khan.

At length, by a thousand wiles and artifices, Mullik Kafoor accomplished his purpose, and prevailed on the King to imprison his two sons, (Khizr Khan and Shady Khan) in the fort of Gualiar, and their mother in the old fort of Dehly. He at the same time procured an order to seize Aluf Khan, whom he unjustly put to death. Aluf Khan's brother, Nizam Khan, Soobadar of Jalwur, was also assassinated by Kumal Khan, who succeeded to his office. Thus far the schemes of Mullik Kafoor succeeded. At this time, also, the flames of universal insurrection, which had long been smothered, began to burst forth, and were first apparent in Guzerat, which rose into insurrection. To suppress this rebellion, Kumal Khan was sent thither, but the adherents of the late Aluf Khan defeated him with great slaughter. Kumal Khan was taken prisoner, and suffered a cruel death. Meanwhile the rajpoots of Chittoor threw the Mahomedan officers over the walls, and asserted their independence, while Hurpal Dew, the son-in-law of Ram Dew, stirred up the Deccan to arms, and expelled a number of the Mahomedan garrisons.

On receiving these accounts, the King bit his own flesh with fury. His grief and rage only tended to increase his disorder, which seemed to resist the power of medicine; and on the evening of the 6th of Shuval, in the year 716, he gave up the ghost, but not without suspicion of being poisoned by the villain whom he had raised from the dust to

Shuval 6. A. H. 716. Dec. 19. A. D. 1316.

power. Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy reigned 20 years and some months. The household servants of this monarch amounted to 17,000, including artificers, for whom he always found employment. His wealth and power were never equalled by any prince who sat before him on the throne of Hindoostan, and they surpassed by far the riches accumulated in the ten campaigns of Mahmood Ghiznevy, all of which were left for others to enjoy.

OOMUR KHILJY.

Mullik Kafoor produces a spurious testament of the King, nominating his youngest son, Oomur Khan, his successor, and appointing Mullik Kafoor protector, during his minority. — Mullik Kafoor procures the King's eldest sons, Khizr Khan and Shady Khan, to be blinded, and another son, Moobarik, is imprisoned for the same purpose. — Mullik Kafoor espouses the mother of the young King. — Plot of the officers of the guards to kill the protector. — Mullik Kafoor is assassinated. — The Prince Moobarik is raised to the throne. — The young King, Oomur Khan, is deprived of eyesight, and confined for life in the fort of Gualiar.

In the history of Sudr Jehan of Guzerat, we are informed that the day after the death of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy, Mullik Kafoor assembled the omras, and produced a spurious testament of the deceased King, in which his youngest son, the Prince Oomur Khan was appointed his successor, and Mullik Kafoor regent, during his minority; setting aside altogether the right of primogeniture of Khizr Khan and of the other princes. Oomur Khan, then in the seventh year of his age, was accordingly placed on the throne, and Mullik Kafoor began his administration. His first measure was to send a person to Gualiar, to put out the eyes of the Princes Khizr Khan and Shady Khan. His orders were inhumanly executed; and the Sooltana, their mother, was put into closer confinement, and her property seized. Moobarik Khan, the third son of Alla-ood-

Deen, was also taken into custody, for the purpose of having his eyes put out. However ridiculous it may appear, Mullik Kafoor, though an eunuch, married the mother of the Prince Oomur, the late Emperor's third wife. But the mother of the Prince Moobarik, the late King's second wife, having heard that the regent intended to put out the eyes of her son, acquainted Sheikh Nujm-ood-Deen, and he gave her some hopes that the threatened misfortune should be prevented.

A. H. 716.
A. D. 1316.

Meanwhile, Mullik Kafoor, as a cloak to his designs, placed the young King every day upon the throne, and ordered the nobles to pay their respects as usual. He sent one night a band of assassins to cut off the Prince Moobarik Khan; but when they entered his apartment, he conjured them to remember his father, whose servants they had been. He then untied a string of rich jewels from his neck, which probably had more influence than his entreaties, and gave it them. They abandoned their purpose; but when they got out, they quarrelled about the division of the jewels, which they at last agreed to carry to the chief of the foot-guards, and acquaint him with what the Prince had said, and with their instructions from Mullik Kafoor. Mullik Musheer, the commander of the foot-guards, and his lieutenant, who both owed every thing to the favour of the deceased king, shocked at the villany of Mullik Kafoor, and finding their men willing to second them, conspired against the eunuch. They accordingly entered his apartment a few hours after, and assas-

sinated him, with some of the principal eunuchs, who were attached to his interest. This event happened 35 days after Alla-ood-Deen's death.

The Prince Moobarik Khan was released from confinement, and the reins of government placed in his hands. He, however, did not immediately assume the diadem, but acted for the space of two months as regent or vizier for his brother, till he had brought over the nobles to his interest. He then claimed his birthright, deposed his brother, and succeeded to the regal dignity. But, according to the barbarous custom and policy of those days, he deprived the Prince Oomur Khan of his eye-sight, and confined him for life in the fort of Gualiar, after he had borne the title of King for three months and some days.

MOOBARIK KHILJY.

The officers of the guards, who had cleared the way for the King's accession, are put to death. — The King disgusts his nobles by raising low persons to high dignities. — One Mullik Khoosrow, a Hindoo of the lowest origin, is enrolled among the nobility, and is appointed to the command of the army. — The King indiscriminately orders the gates of the prisons to be thrown open, by which 17,000 persons are set free — he abolishes all the regulations regarding trade introduced by his father — he abandons himself to licentiousness, and the most degrading vices. — The King sends an army to Guzerat, and marches in person to the Deccan — sends Mullik Khoosrow, with the main body of the army, towards Malabar, and returns to Dehly. — A plot discovered against the King's life. — The leader of the conspiracy, a cousin of the King, suffers death. — The princes at Gualiar are also murdered, and the widow of one of them is brought to Dehly, and placed in the King's haram. — The King becomes totally regardless of all decency in his licentiousness and vices. — Mullik Khoosrow returns from the Deccan. — The King goes forth to meet him — embraces him publicly. — Khoosrow aims at the throne. — Plot to murder the King publicly talked of. — The King warned by his tutor — neglects the admonition — is murdered by Mullik Khoosrow.

Mohurrum 7. A.H. 717. March 22. A.D. 1317.

On the 7th of Mohurrum, in the year 717 of the Hijra, Moobarik ascended the throne. The commander of the foot-guards, who had saved his life, and raised him to the throne, as also his lieutenant, were ungratefully and inhumanly put to death by his orders, under no better pretence than

that they presumed too much on the services they had done him. It is probable, that he was instigated to this base action by his fears, as, in some measure, appears by his immediately dispersing all the old soldiers, who were under their command, into different parts of the country. Moobarik began to dispense his favours among the nobles, but he disgusted them all by raising some of his slaves to the rank of omras. Mullik Deenar, the superintendent of the elephants, received the title of Zuffur Khan, Mahomed Moula, the King's maternal uncle, that of Sheer Shah, and Mowlana Zeea-ood-Deen, that of Sudr-Jehan. Mullik Kiran Beg was made a member of the council of state; and Hussun, a converted Purwary* slave of Guzerat, received the title of Mullik Khoosrow, and, through the King's attachment towards him, became the greatest man in the realm. He was appointed, in the first instance, to the command of the armies of Mullik Kafoor, and Khwaja Hajy, those joint conquerors of the Deccan, and at the same time received the title of Vizier.

A.H. 717. A.D. 1317.

The King, whether to affect popularity, or in remembrance of his late situation, ordered all the prisons to be opened; by which means 17,000 persons were blessed with the light of day; and all the exiles were recalled by proclamation. He then commanded a present of six month's pay to be made to the whole of the troops, and con-

* The Purwary is a Hindoo outcast, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town.

ferred upon them many other advantages. He at the same time issued orders to give free access to all petitioners. He restored the lands and villages to those persons from whom they had been forcibly wrested in the late reign; and by degrees removed all the obnoxious restrictions on commerce, and the heavy tributes and taxes which had been exacted by his father. By these means, the ordinary and natural intercourse of trade fell into its usual channels; but in carrying these measures into effect, he abandoned some of the wisest institutions of his predecessor, and the sources of justice soon became polluted, and corruption prevailed. The King gave himself up entirely to wine, revelry, and lust: these vices became fashionable at court, from whence the whole body of the people was soon infected.

Moobarik, in the first year of his reign, sent an army under the command of the celebrated Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany into the province of Guzerat, which had revolted. Ein-ool-Moolk was an officer of great abilities: he defeated the insurgents, cut off their chiefs, and settled the country in peace. After this, the King conferred the government of Guzerat upon Zuffur Khan, whose daughter he had taken in marriage. Zuffur Khan soon after marched his army to Nehrwala, the capital of Guzerat, where some disturbances had taken place. He reduced the rebels, confiscated their estates, and sent their movable wealth to the King.

A.H. 718. A. D. 1318. In the second year of his reign, the King, collecting his army, marched towards the Deccan, to chastise Hurpal.

Dew, the son-in-law of Ram Dew, who, by the assistance of the other princes of the Deccan, had recovered the country of the Marrattas. * Having appointed one Shaheen, the son of a slave, to whom he gave the title of Wufa Beg, his lieutenant in his absence, the King left Dehly and arrived at Dewgur. Here Hurpal Dew, with some other rajas, had assembled, but fled at the approach of the Moslems. A detachment was sent in pursuit, which brought back Hurpal Dew prisoner, who was flayed alive, decapitated, and his head fixed above the gate of his own capital. The King now ordered a chain of posts to be established as far as Dwar Sumoodra, and built a mosque in Dewgur, which still remains. He appointed Mullik Beg Luky †, one of his father's slaves, to command in the Deccan; and, in imitation of Alla-ood-Deen, gave to his favourite, Mullik Khoosrow, the ensigns of royalty. He sent the latter towards Malabar, with part of his army, and returned in person to Dehly.

Mullik Assud-ood Deen, a cousin of the King on his mother's side, seeing him daily in a state of intoxication, and negligent of the duties of his high station, began to entertain thoughts of usurping the crown, and formed a conspiracy against the King's life. The plot, however, was disclosed

* The proper name is Mahrashtra, the inhabitants of which are called Marrattas.

† The tribe of Luk is among the most ancient of the original families of the low countries of Farsistan, in Persia.

by one of the conspirators, and Assud-ood-Deen was condemned to death. Whether Moobarik had found proofs that his brothers were concerned in this transaction is not known; but at that time he sent an executioner to Gualiar, and caused the Princes to be put to death. He also caused Dewul Devy, the wife of his elder brother Khizr Khan, to be brought to the royal haram.

Moobarik, now in quiet possession of Guzerat, the Deccan, and most parts of northern India, gave a loose to the most unbridled excesses. He grew more perverse, proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, than ever; despising all council, ill treating his friends, and inflicting the most sanguinary and unjust punishments, merely in conformity with his obstinate and arbitrary will. Zuffur Khan, the governor of Guzerat, among others, fell a victim to his caprice, as also Wufa Beg, upon whom he had heaped such favours; both suffered death without even an accusation. The King became infamous for every vice that can disgrace human nature, and condescended so far as to dress himself often like a common actress, and go with the public women to dance at the houses of the nobility. At other times, he would lead a gang of abominable prostitutes, half naked, along the terraces of the royal palaces, and oblige them to exhibit themselves before the nobles as they entered the court. These, and other indecencies too shocking to mention, were the constant sources of his daily amusement. After the death of Zuffur Khan, Hissam-ood-Deen, uncle to Mullik Khoosrow, obtained the government of Guzerat. He had not long been esta-

blished, when in conjunction with a few nobles he rebelled. The other nobles of Guzerat, rising in arms, defeated him, and sent him prisoner to Dehly. Here he was not only pardoned, but regained his place in the King's favour, and Mullik Wujee-ood Deen Kooreishy was sent to Guzerat in his stead. About this time news arrived, that Mullik Beg Luky, governor of the Deccan, had rebelled. The King sent a force to suppress that insurrection, which contrived to seize Mullik Beg and his principal adherents, and to send them to Dehly, where the chief had his ears cut off, and the others were put to the torture. Mullik Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany was now raised to the office of governor of the Deccan.

A. H. 719. A. D. 1319. Mullik Khoosrow, who had gone to Malabar, stayed there about one year. He plundered the country of one hundred and twenty elephants, a perfect diamond, weighing one hundred and sixty-eight ruttys, with other jewels, and gold to a great amount. His ambition was increased by his wealth; and he proposed to establish himself in the Deccan in an independent sovereignty. Being unable to gain over any of the chief officers of his army, he conceived a project for their destruction. To this end, he recalled one Mullik Tubligha from the government of the island of Goa. He also recalled Mullik Teimoor and Mullik Gool, Afghans, who were on different services, and gave out that he had orders to return to Dehly. These nobles, having intelligence of his designs, disobeyed his commands, and wrote a remonstrance to court, accusing

Mullik Khoosrow of treason. The King commanded him to be seized, and to be sent prisoner to Dehly, which order the officers found means to execute. When Khoosrow came before the King, he pleaded his own cause so successfully, and retorted on his accusers with such plausibility, that the King believed the whole accusation originated in envy and disgust at being commanded by his favourite. He immediately recalled his accusers, and though they gave undoubted proofs of their assertions, he not only shut his ears against the defence which they brought forward, but disgraced them, confiscated their estates, and reduced them to poverty. Other nobles, seeing that the enemies of Mullik Khoosrow, right or wrong, were destined to destruction, made excuses, in order to obtain leave to retire to distant parts of the empire. A few sycophants adhered to the favourite, who had now become the object of universal dread, as well as the source of all honours and promotion. This slave, in the mean time, cherished his own ambitious views, and began again to form measures for his own advancement to the throne.

To accomplish this purpose, he told the King, that as his fidelity had been so generously rewarded, and as the King might still have occasion for his services in the conduct of his military affairs, he begged that he might be permitted to send for some of his relations from Guzerat, on whom he could more certainly depend than officers now in the King's service, who were jealous of his elevation. The King acceded to his request; and Mullik Khoosrow remitted a large sum of money, by

some of his agents, to Guzerat, who collected about 20,000 of his own cast, the dregs of the people, and brought them to Dehly. Every office of profit and trust was conferred upon those vermin, which bound them fast to Mullik Khoosrow's interest.

On one occasion, as the King was going to hunt towards Sursawa, a plot was formed to assassinate him. But this was laid aside on account of a difference of opinion among the conspirators. They therefore resolved to perform their tragedy in the palace. Moobarik returned to Dehly, and, according to custom, gave himself up to his debauched habits. Mullik Khoosrow, full of his project, took the opportunity of a favourable hour, to beg the King's permission to entertain his friends in the outer court of the palace. The King not only consented, but even issued orders to give them free access at all times; by which means the courts of the palace became crowded with the followers of the favourite. The plot for the King's assassination was not even kept secret, many people in the city heard of it from the incautious and profligate band which was employed by Mullik Khoosrow; but such was his influence over the King's mind, that none dared to mention it. At length Kazy Zeea-ood-Deen, one of the most learned men in the city, and who had been the King's tutor in his youth, gained access, and told him plainly that such a plot was notorious throughout the town. He recommended immediate measures to be taken for seizing Khoosrow, and for instituting an enquiry into the truth; observing, if

A. H. 721.
A. D. 1321.

it should be clearly proved to be unfounded, it would only be the cause of an increase of the King's favour towards his minister. At this identical moment Mullik Khoosrow, who had been listening, entered in a female dress, with all the affectation of a girl. The King, on seeing him, got up, embraced him, and forgot all that Kazy Zeea-ood-Deen had said.

On the following night, the Kazy, still suspicious of treason, could not go to rest, but walked out about midnight, to see whether the guards were watchful. In his rounds, he met Mundul, Khoosrow's uncle, who engaged him in conversation. In the mean time, one Jahirba came behind him, and with one stroke of a sabre laid him low on the ground, leaving him only strength to cry out, "Treason! treason! murder and treason are on foot." Two or three servants who attended him ran off, screaming aloud that the Kazy was assassinated. The guards started up in confusion, but were instantly attacked by the conspirators, and massacred before they could prepare for defence.

The King, alarmed at the noise, asked Mullik Khoosrow, who lay in his apartment, the cause. The villain arose as if to enquire, and going out on the terrace, stood for some time, and returning, told the King, that some of the horses belonging to the guard had broken loose and were fighting, while the people were endeavouring to secure them. This satisfied Moobarik for the present, but soon after, the conspirators ascended the stairs and got upon the terraces which led to the royal sleeping apartment. Here they were stopped by Ibrahim

and Isaac, two servants, as well as by the sentries over the private chambers, all of whom were immediately put to the sword. The King hearing the clash of arms, and the groans of dying men so near, arose up in great alarm, and ran towards the haram, by a private passage. At this moment Mullik Khoosrow, fearing he might escape, rushed after him, and seizing him by the hair in the gallery, struggled with him for some time. Moobarik, being the stronger man, threw Khoosrow on the ground: but as Khoosrow had twisted his hand in the King's hair, the latter could by no means disengage himself, till some of the other conspirators came, and with a stroke of a scimitar cut off the King's head, and threw it into the court-yard.

A.H. 721. A.D. 1321.

The conspirators below began to be hard pressed by the guards and the servants, who now crowded from all quarters; but on hearing of the King's fate, the latter hastened out of the palace. The conspirators then shut the gates, and massacred such as had not the good fortune to escape. The ruffians now entered the female apartments, and put to death the mother of the Prince Fureed Khan, as well as the younger children of the late Alla-ood-Deen, and the Princes Fureed Ally and Omur. Besides which, they gave a loose to their inclinations in every possible manner among the ladies of the seraglio. Thus the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla-ood-Deen for his ingratitude to his uncle Feroze, and for the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands. Heaven also punished his son

Moobarik, whose name and reign would be too infamous to have a place in the records of literature, did not our duty, as an historian, oblige us to this disagreeable task. Notwithstanding which, we have in some places been obliged to draw a veil over circumstances too horrid and indecent to relate.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 25. A. H. 721. March 24. A. D. 1321.

This event occurred on the 25th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year 721. In the morning Khoosrow, surrounded by his creatures, ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Nasir-ood-Deen. He then ordered all the slaves and servants of Moobarik, whom he thought had the least spark of honesty, to be put to death, and their wives and children to be sold as slaves. His brother was dignified with the title of Khan Khanan, or chief of the nobles, and married to one of the daughters of the late Alla-ood-Deen. Khoosrow took Dewul Devy, the widow of his murdered master and sovereign to himself, and disposed of the other ladies of the seraglio among his beggarly relations. The household troops * still remained to be bribed, and they loved nothing better than a revolution; for it had always been customary, on such occasions, for them to receive a donation of six months' pay from the treasury. A trifle purchased the service of those dissolute slaves, who were lost to all sense of gratitude or honour.

* The reader of history will recognise in this scene the ordinary course of such revolutions, whether at Rome, Constantinople, or Dehly.

The son of Kimar, the chief of a gang of thieves, received the title of Shaista Khan, and was made chief secretary; while Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany was appointed captain-general of the forces. Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Joona Khan, obtained the title of Khoosrow Khan, with the appointment of master of the horse, and many other distinguished honours. This the King did in order to gain over to his cause that chief's father (Ghazy Beg Toghluk), governor of Lahore and Depalpoor, of whom the usurper was in great fear. Notwithstanding his promotion, Joona Khan was touched to the soul to see the condition of affairs. His father, also, who was reckoned a man of great courage and honour, indignant at the infamous proceedings at court, was roused to revenge. He acquainted his son with his purpose; and Joona Khan, taking the first opportunity to fly from Dehly, joined his father. The usurper was in great perplexity after the flight of Joona Khan, and begăn already to despair of maintaining himself. Ghazy Beg Toghluk immediately prepared for hostilities, and, by circular letters, invited all the nobles to join his standard. A great many of the governors of the provinces put their troops in motion; but Mogultugeen, the governor of Mooltan, unwilling to act a secondary part, refused to join, and he was accordingly cut off by Beiram Abia, a Mogul chief of some note in that quarter. Mullik Beg Luky, governor of Samana, though the usurper had been the occasion of his losing his ears, transmitted the circular letter of Ghazy Beg Toghluk to Khoosrow, informing him

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of the rebellion. Mullik Beg took the field against the confederates, sustained a signal defeat, and in his flight to Dehly was attacked by the zemindars, who put him to death. The usurper now sent his brother, Khan Khanan, and Yoosoof Suffy, with all on whom he could depend, against the confederates.

Ghazy Beg Toghluk, being joined by Beiram Abia with the army from Mooltan, and other governors of provinces, advanced to oppose the usurper's army on the banks of the Soorsutty. The troops of Ghazy Beg were experienced in frequent wars with the Moguls, and those of Khoosrow were enervated by indolence and debaucheries, besides being lost to all sense of military honour. The latter were broken at the first onset, and the public treasure, elephants, and baggage were taken. The booty was divided on the field among the conquerors, who then continued their march in triumph towards Dehly. The usurper, in great embarrassment, marched out of the city, and took possession of a strong post near the Houz Alla-ood-Deeny, with the citadel in his rear, and many gardens with high walls in his front. He then opened the treasury, and gave three years' pay to his troops, leaving for himself nothing but the jewels, of some of which he also disposed. The confederates advancing, an action was expected next morning, but, on that night, Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany withdrew his forces from the usurper, and took the route of Mando. Although this event affected Khoosrow's army, yet his troops drew up in order of battle, and

Mullik Tubligha and Shaista Khan opposed the confederates with great bravery, as they advanced through the lanes. These chiefs were at length overpowered and slain. Their position gave such advantages to the usurper's army, that they maintained it till the evening, when at length Khoosrow fled, with a few of his friends, towards Jeelput. On the way he was deserted by most of his attendants, and obliged to conceal himself in a tomb, from whence he was dragged the next day, and ordered to be put to death, together with his brother, who was taken in a neighbouring garden.

Rujub 30. A. H. 721. August 22. A. D. 1321.

The day after this action, being the 1st of Shaban, 721, the nobles and magistrates of the city came to pay their respects to the victor, and presented him with the keys of the city. He mounted his horse, and entered Dehly in triumph. When he came in sight of the palace of Huzar-minar (Thousand Minarets), he wept bitterly, crying with a loud voice, "O ye subjects of this great empire, I am no "more than one of you, who unsheathed my "sword to deliver you from oppression, and rid "the world of a monster. My endeavours, by the "blessing of God, have been crowned with suc-"cess. If, therefore, any member of the royal "line remain, let him be brought, that justice may "be done, and that we, his servants, may prostrate "ourselves before his throne. But if none of the "race of kings have escaped the bloody hands of "tyranny and usurpation, let the most worthy of

Shaban 1. A. H. 721. August 23. A. D. 1321.

" the nobility be elected among you, and I swear " to abide by your choice."

The people cried out with one voice, that none of the princes were now alive; that as he had shielded them from the vengeance of the Moguls, and delivered them from the rage of a tyrant, none was so worthy to reign. Then laying hold on him, the populace raised him up, and having placed him upon the throne, hailed him as Shah Jehan (the King of the Universe), but he assumed the more modest title of Gheias-ood-Deen. — The reign of Khoosrow lasted only five months.

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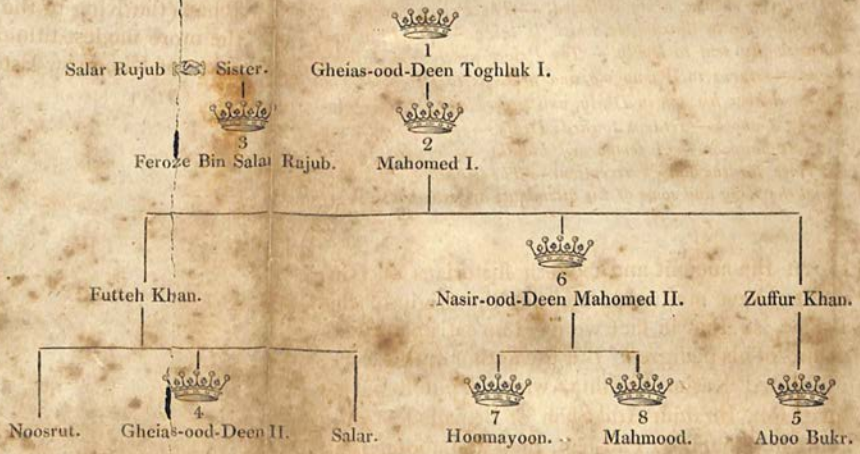
THIRD TARTAR DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY,

ENTITLED TOGHLUK.



GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK.

New ministry. — The King's eldest son is sent with an army to Tulingana. — Wurungole besieged. — Disaffection of the officers. — Dispersion of the troops. — Retreat of the Prince to Dehly. — A new army collected. — The Prince proceeds a second time to Wurungole, which is taken. — The Raja and his family sent to Dehly. — The Prince proceeds to Jajnuggur — returns to Wurungole, and proceeds to Dehly. — The King leaves his son in Dehly, and proceeds to Bengal — invades Tirhool — returns towards Dehly — is met by his son at Afghanpoor. — A temporary building is erected by the Prince for the King's reception. — The building gives way, and the King and some of his attendants are killed.

BOTH the ancient and modern historians of Hindoostan have omitted to mention the origin of this Prince, so that in fact we have no satisfactory accounts of his pedigree. But the author of this work, Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, when deputed by his sovereign, Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor, to the court of Jehangeer Padshah, then at Lahore, took pains to enquire from certain persons in that country, well read in Indian history, what they knew of the origin of the Toghluk dynasty. They all agreed that no written authority existed on the subject, but said that it was generally believed, according to tradition, that the name of the father of Gheias-ood-Deen (the first of the family who ascended the throne of Dehly) was Toghluk, and

that he was a Toorky slave of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun; that he married a woman of the Jut tribe (the cultivators of Lahore and its vicinity), and that she was the mother of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk. The author of the Moolhjkat says that the name is properly Kootloogh, from whence is derived Kootloo, but that Toghluk is a vulgarism.

When Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk ascended the throne, he regulated the affairs of the government, which had fallen into disorder, in so satisfactory a manner, as to obtain general esteem. He repaired the old palaces and fortifications, built others, and encouraged commerce. Men of genius and learning were invited to his court: a code of laws for the civil government were framed, founded upon the Koran, and consistent with the ancient usages of the Dehly monarchy.

Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Joona, the King's eldest son, was declared heir-apparent, with the title of Aluf Khan, and the royal ensigns were conferred on him. The King's other four sons were, Beiram, Zuffur, Mahmood, and Noosrut. Beiram Abia, who had so effectually aided the King with the army from Mooltan, and whom he now adopted as a brother, received the title of Kishloo Khan, and was appointed his lieutenant over the provinces on the Indus. Mullik Assud-ood-Deen, one of the King's nephews, was appointed Barbik, and Mullik Baha-ood-Deen, another nephew, was appointed Aariz-ool-Moomalik, with the province of Samana for his support. Mullik Shady, another nephew, who was also the King's son-in-law, was made vizier. Mullik Boorhan-ood-

A. H. 721.
A. D. 1321.

Deen, received the government of Dewgur, and his adopted son, Tartar Khan, the government of Zuffurabad.

The King, meantime, stationed troops on the Kabul frontiers, and built forts to protect his dominions from the incursions of the Moguls, which so effectually answered the purpose, as to prevent his being troubled by these invaders during the whole of his reign. In the second year after his accession, the Prince Aluf Khan, the King's eldest son, attended by some of the old nobles, with the troops of Chundery, Budaoon, and Malwa, was despatched towards Tulingana. It appears that Luddur Dew, the Raja of Wurungole, during the late disturbances, had refused to send his tribute, and the province of Dewgur had also relapsed into disaffection. The Prince Aluf Khan advanced accordingly into those countries, and plundered them in every direction. Ludder Dew opposed the Mahomedans with spirit, but was in the end obliged to retreat into the city of Wurungole, which Aluf Khan immediately invested.

The siege was carried on with great loss on both sides; but the works having been lately strengthened, no practicable breach could be effected. The Moslems, meanwhile, on account of the hot winds and severe weather, were seized with a malignant distemper, which swept away hundreds every day. Many became desirous to return home, and to this end spread false reports through the camp, which threw universal consternation over the army. No advices having been received for above a month from Dehly, one

Sheikhzada of Damascus, Oobeid the poet, and some other companions of the Prince Aluf Khan, circulated a report, that the Emperor was dead, and that a revolution had taken place at Dehly. Not content with this, they went to the tents of Mullik Kafoor, seal-keeper, and Mullik Tuggeen, two of the principal officers in camp, and told them the state of affairs at Dehly. They also said that the Prince Aluf Khan, suspecting that they would dispute his right to the throne, had resolved to cut them off.

The officers, deceived by this false information, left the camp that night with all their adherents. The Prince Aluf Khan thus deserted, was under the necessity of raising the siege, and retreating in haste and disorder towards Dewgur, whither he was pursued by the enemy with great slaughter. On his arrival there, letters of a late date being received from Dehly, exposed the falsehood of these rumours, on which the Prince halted, and collected his scattered army. The officers who had fled, disagreeing, took separate routes; they were attacked by the infidels, plundered of their elephants, camels, and baggage, and otherwise greatly harassed in their march. Two of them, Mullik Teimoor, and Mullik Tuggeen, both fell victims. The former died, in a prison of one of the Hindoo Rajas; and the other was cut off by the Marattas; while Mullik Gool Afghan, and Mullik Kafoor, were seized by their own troops, and brought back to Dewgur. An enquiry was instituted into their conduct; the authors of the false reports were discovered, seized, and sent

A. H. 722.
A. D. 1322.

prisoners to Dehly. On their arrival there, the King ordered them to be buried alive, with the severe remark, "that as they had buried him "alive in jest, he would bury them alive in "earnest."

The Prince Aluf Khan, after his retreat from Dewgur, brought back to Dehly only three thousand horse, of all his great army. In two months, however, he recruited his troops, and again marched to Wurungole. On his way thither, he besieged and took the town of Bedur, belonging to the Raja of Wurungole, on the frontiers of Tulingana, and some other places, wherein he left garrisons. He then advanced to the capital, and renewing the siege of Wurungole, reduced it to surrender. Some thousands of Hindoos were put to death, and Luddur Dew, with his family, were taken prisoners. Aluf Khan sent them, together with their treasures, elephants, and private property, to Dehly, under charge of Kuddur Khan, and Khwaja Hajy, the latter of whom had been second in command under Mullik Naib Kafoor. Upon their reaching the capital, great rejoicings were made in the new citadel at Dehly, which the King had just finished, and to which he gave the name of Toghlukabad. The Prince Aluf Khan appointed officers to govern the country of Tulingana, and caused Wurungole to be called Sooltanpoor*, after which he proceeded in person towards Jajnuggur. On this occasion, he took forty elephants from the Raja, and sent

* Wurungole soon lost this Mahomedan title, and to this day bears its ancient Hindoo name.

them to his father. Returning to Wurungole, he stayed there a few days, and marched back to Dehly.

A. H. 724. A. D. 1323. In the beginning of the year 724, complaints arrived from Luknowty and Soonargam, of the oppressions committed by the governors of that province, and Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk, after having appointed his son Aluf Khan to the government of Dehly, marched in person towards Bengal. When he reached Nahib *, Nasir-ood-Deen, Kurra Khan, the son of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, and father of Kei Koobad, who had remained in that government since the death of his father, came from Luknowty to pay his respects, bringing with him many valuable presents. He was confirmed in his government of Bengal, and permitted to assume the ensigns of royalty; after which, Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk prepared for his return. At this time, also, Tartar Khan, the King's adopted son, was nominated to the government of Soonargam, and directed to reduce to subjection Bahâdur Shah, an officer of the reign of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy. Bahâdur Shah was defeated, and fled; but Tartar Khan succeeded in seizing him, and sent him to the King. In the Futtooh-oos-Sulateen †, it is related, that as the King was passing

A. H. 725. A. D. 1325.

* This name is indistinct in all my MSS. and is probably incorrect.

† The Futtooh-oos-Sulateen, or the victories of kings, is, I understand, a compilation of little authority, and may be ranked with the Jama-ool-Hikayat, or other collections of historical romances.

near the hills of Tirhoot, the Raja appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the King alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at a fort, surrounded by seven ditches full of water, and a high wall. The King invested the place, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Raja and his family were taken, and great booty obtained, while the government of Tirhoot was left in the hands of Ahmud Khan, the son of Mullik Tubligha, after which the King returned towards Dehly. On reaching Afghanpoor, he was met by his son Aluf Khan, with all the nobles of the court, who came to congratulate him on his safe return. At this spot Aluf Khan had raised a temporary wooden building, in three days' time, for his father's reception. When the entertainment was over, the King ordered his equipage to proceed: every body hastened out, and stood ready to accompany him, when the roof of the building suddenly fell, and the King and five of his attendants were crushed in the ruins.

Some authors have attributed this accident to the nature of the building, and think it might have been pushed down by the crowd of elephants that were without. Others refer it to design, of which they accuse the Prince Aluf Khan as the contriver, because, say they, the construction of such a building in a camp was quite unnecessary;

and Zeea Burny, a contemporary of Feroze Toghluk, between whom and Aluf Khan, afterwards Mahomed Toghluk, the greatest intimacy subsisted, has neglected to mention the story in his history. But it will occur to all unprejudiced persons, that these accusations are far from probable. For it must be recollected that the Prince himself had been for some time with his father in the building, during the entertainment: how, then, was he to effect, as if by a miracle, that the house should fall on the very moment he left it? But the most entertaining surmise is that recorded by Sudr Jehan Guzeratty, who asserts, that the Prince Aluf Khan raised the palace by magic, and the instant the magical art which upheld it was withdrawn, it fell. Hajy Mahomed Kandahary says, that it was struck by lightning, and this does not seem at all improbable. But God only knows the real truth.

The death of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk happened in the month of Rubbee-ool-Awul, of the year 725, after a reign of four years and some months. The poet, Ameer Khoosrow of Dehly, who lived to the end of this King's reign, and received a pension of 1000 tunkas monthly, wrote the history of this Prince, under the title of the Toghluk Nama; but the work is very scarce.

Rubbee-ool-Awul, A. H. 725. February, A. D. 1325.

MAHOMED TOGHLUK.

The Prince, Aluf Khan, ascends the throne, and assumes the title of Mahomed. — Invasion of the Choghtay Tartars, under Toormooshreen Khan. — Expeditions from Dehly into the Deccan. — Disaffection throughout the kingdom. — The army mutinies. — Expedients to recruit the King's finances — they fail. — The King sends an army to invade China — its total destruction. — Insurrection in the Deccan by the King's nephew — he is delivered up by the Raja, Bilal Dew, and suffers a cruel death. — The King makes Dewgur his capital, and causes it to be called Dowlutabad. — Compels the inhabitants of Dehly to occupy Dowlutabad. — Insurrection in Mooltan. — Dehly repeopled. — Invasion of Punjab by the Afghans. — Famine in Dehly. — The Gukkurs overrun Punjab. — Revolt in Sumbhul. — Confederacy of the Hindoos in the Deccan. — Revolt of the King's troops in the Deccan. — Revolt in Malwa. — Revolt in Guzerat. — Death of the King from a surfeit of fish. ''

On the third day after the King's funeral, his eldest son Aluf Khan ascended the throne, by the title of Mahomed Toghluk, and proceeded from Toghlukabad to Dehly. On this occasion, the streets of the city were strewed with flowers; the houses adorned; drums beaten; and every demonstration of joy was exhibited. The new monarch ordered some elephants laden with gold and silver to precede and follow the procession, from which money was scattered among the populace. Tartar Khan, whom the late Gheias-ood-deen

Toghluk had adopted as his son, and appointed to the government of Soonargam, was honoured with the title of Beiram Khan, and received a hundred elephants, a crore of golden tunkas (166,666*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*), two thousand horses, and was appointed to the government of Bengal. To Mullik Sunjur Budukhshy, were also given seventy lacks (116,666*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*); to Mullik-ool-Moolk Imad-ood-Deen, eighty lacks (133,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and to Mowlana Azd-ood-deen, the King's preceptor, forty lacks (66,666*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*); all on one day. Mowlana Nasir-ood-Deen Koomy had an annual pension of one lack; and Mullik Ghazy, the poet, had also a pension to the same amount. Nizam-ood-deen Ahmud Bukhshy, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians as having been lavished by this Prince, took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these tunkas were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each tunka only exchanged for 16 copper pice. * In the early part of his reign, the King's liberality attracted to Dehly some of the most learned men of Asia, who returned to their countries laden with honours and with gifts. He established hospitals for the sick, and almshouses for widows and orphans, on the most liberal scale. He was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time; and his letters, both in Arabic and Persian, display so much elegance, good taste, and

A.H. 725. A.D. 1325.

* Making a tunka worth only about 4*d.*, instead of 2*s.*, and the whole amount equal to 533,331*l.*

good sense, that the most able secretaries of later times study them with admiration. He was fond of history, and had so retentive a memory, that he recollected almost every event he read of, and the time it occurred. He was skilled, also, in the sciences of physic, logic, astronomy, and mathematics; and he had the talent of discovering the character of persons from a very slight acquaintance. He even went so far as to attend himself on patients afflicted with any remarkable disease. He studied the philosophy of the Greek schools, and after his accession to the throne he maintained disputes with Assud Muntuky, the metaphysician; Oobeid the poet; Nujm-ood-deen Intishar; and Mowlana Ein-ood-deen Shirazy, besides other learned men. He, however, took no delight in works of fiction written for amusement, such as tales or romances, nor did he encourage buffoons or actors. He wrote some good Persian poetry himself, and was the patron of literary men in general. He was not less famous for his gallantry in the field than for those accomplishments which render a man the ornament of private society. His constant desire of extending his territory accounts for his having passed the greater part of his life in the camp. He is represented by contemporaries as one of the wonders of the age in which he lived, from his possessing, in so eminent a degree, qualities and accomplishments so opposite. He even wished to unite in his own person the duties of a monarch with those of a high priest. He was always regular at his own daily prayers, and punished those persons who neglected theirs. He abstained

from fornication, drunkenness, and other vices forbidden in the holy book. But with all these admirable qualities, he was wholly devoid of mercy or of consideration for his people. The punishments he inflicted were not only rigid, and cruel, but frequently unjust. So little did he hesitate to spill the blood of God's creatures, that when any thing occurred which excited him to proceed to that horrid extremity, one might have supposed his object was to exterminate the human species altogether. No single week passed without his having put to death one or more of the learned and holy men who surrounded him, or some of the secretaries who attended him. On his nobles and relatives, however, he conferred great honours and distinctions, and the following were among those who were mostfavoured: Mullik Feroze, his cousin, was appointed Naib of the Barbik, or deputy grand usher; Mullik Bedar Khiljy was graced with the title of Kuddur Khan, and was made governor of Luknowty on the death of Nasir-ood-Deen Khiljy. Kootloogh Khan was made Vakeel-i-Dur; Mullik Mukbool was created Imam-ool-Moolk, and was nominated Vizier-ool-Momalik. Ahmud Ayaz received the title of Khwaja Jehan, and the government of Guzerat; Mullik Mokbil was created Khan Jehan, and appointed vizier of Guzerat. Mahomed, the son of Kootloogh Khan, also received an estate for his support in Guzerat; and Mullik Shahab-ood-Deen was created Mullik-oot-Toojar (chief of the merchants), and received the estate of Nowsary for his maintenance. In

A. H. 727. A.D. 1327. the year 727, in the beginning of the reign of Mahomed Toghluk, before the government was settled, Toormooshreen Khan, a chief of the tribe of Choghtay, and a Mogul general of great fame, invaded Hindoostan with a vast army, in order to make an entire conquest of it. He subdued Lumghan, Mooltan, and the northern provinces, and advanced rapidly towards Dehly. Mahomed Toghluk, seeing he could not cope with the enemy in the field, and that the city must soon fall, sued for peace. He sent valuable presents in gold and jewels, to soften the Mogul chief, who at last consented, on receiving almost the price of the kingdom, to withdraw to his own country, retreating through Guzerat and Sind on his return; both of which territories he plundered, and carried off many of the inhabitants. Zeea-ood-Deen Burny, who flourished under this reign, has omitted to make mention of this eventful irruption for fear of giving offence to his successor. Mahomed Toghluk, however, turned his thoughts to conquest within India; and he so completely subjected the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumoodra, Maabir, Kumpila, Wurungole, Luknowty, Chútgaun (Chitagong), and Soonargâm; that they were as effectually incorporated with the empire as the villages in the vicinity of Dehly. He also subdued the whole of the Carnatic, both in length and breadth, even to the shore of the sea of Ooman.* But in the convulsions which soon after shook the

* Indian ocean, lying between Arabia and the Indian peninsula.

empire, all these conquests, with the exception of Guzerat, were wrested from him, and continued separate. The causes of the disturbances were chiefly these: the heavy taxes which in this reign were imposed on the inhabitants of the Dooab, and other provinces; the passing of copper money for silver, by public decree; the raising of 370,000 horse for the conquest of Khorassan and Mawur-ool-Nehr; the sending of 100,000 horse towards the mountains between India and China; the cruel massacre of many Mahomedans, as well as Hindoos, in different parts of India; and many other lesser reasons, which, for the sake of brevity, we forbear to mention.

The duties levied on the necessaries of life realised with the utmost rigour, were too great for the power of industry to cope with: the country, in consequence, became involved in poverty and distress. The farmers fled to the woods, and maintained themselves by rapine; the lands were left uncultivated; famine desolated whole provinces, and the sufferings of the people obliterated from their minds every idea of subjection. The copper money, for want of proper regulations, was productive of evils equal to those already specified. The King, unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency from a Chinese custom of using paper on the Emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, in lieu of ready money. Mahomed Toghluk, instead of stamped paper, struck a copper coin, which he issued at an imaginary value, and caused it to pass current by a decree throughout Hindoostan. The

mint was under bad regulations. Bankers acquired large fortunes by coinage. Foreign merchants made their payments in copper to the home manufacturers, though they themselves received for the articles they sold silver and gold in foreign markets. There was so much corruption practised in the mint, that for a premium to those persons who had the management of it, merchants had their coin struck considerably below the legal value; and these abuses were connived at by the government. The great calamity, however, consequent upon this debasement of the coin arose from the known instability of the government. Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindoostan; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money, the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?

A. H. 727.
A. D. 13 26.

From these evils the discontent became universal; and the King was at length obliged to call in the copper currency. Such abuses had occurred in the mint, however, that, after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This debt the King struck off, and thousands were ruined. The state, so far from gaining by this crude scheme, had exhausted its treasury; and the bankers, and some merchants, alone accumulated fortunes at the expence of their sovereign and the people. Mahomed Toghluk, at the representation of Ameer Nowroze Beg, a Mogul chief, who, with thousands of his tribe, had entered into the service, buoyed himself up with hopes of the facility of reducing both Persia and Tartary. But, before

these projects could be put in execution, the troops were all in arrears. These, finding they could not subsist without pay, dispersed, and carried pillage, ruin, and death to every quarter. Such are the calamities comprehending the domestic transactions of many years. The public treasury thus exhausted by his former impolitic scheme, the King resolved to repair his losses by putting in execution a project equally absurd.

Having heard of the great wealth of China, Mahomed Toghluk conceived the idea of subduing that empire; but, in order to accomplish his design, it was found necessary first to conquer the country of Hemachul*, which lies between the borders of China and India. Accordingly, in the year 738, he ordered 100,000 horse, under the command of his sister's son, Khoosrow Mullik, to subdue this mountainous region, and to establish garrisons as far as the frontiers of China. When this should be effected, he proposed to advance in person with his whole army to invade that empire. The nobles and counsellors of state in vain assured him, that the troops of India never yet could, and never would advance a step within the limits of China, and that the whole scheme was visionary. The King insisted on making the experiment, and the army was accordingly put in motion. Having entered the mountains, small forts were built on the

A. H. 738.
A. D. 1337.

* Nepal, and the countries on both sides of the Himmalaya mountains.

A.H. 735. A.D. 1337. road, to secure a communication; and proceeding in this manner, the troops reached the Chinese boundary, where a numerous army appeared to oppose them. The numbers of the Indians were by this time greatly diminished, and being much inferior to the enemy, they were struck with dismay; which was only increased, when they considered their distance from home, the rugged country they had passed, the approach of the rainy season, and the scarcity of provisions, which now began to be severely felt. With these feelings, they commenced their retreat towards the foot of the range of hills, where the mountaineers, rushing down upon them, plundered their baggage, and the Chinese army also followed them closely. In this distressing situation the Indian army remained for seven days, suffering the extreme of famine. At length, the rain began to fall in torrents; the cavalry were up to the bellies of their horses in water. The waters obliged the Chinese to remove their camp to a greater distance, and gave to Khoosrow Mullik some hopes of effecting his retreat; but he found the low country completely inundated, and the mountains covered with impervious woods. The misfortunes of the army seemed to be at a crisis; no passage remained to them for retreat, but that by which they entered the hills, which was occupied by the mountaineers; so that in the short space of fifteen days the Indian army fell a prey to famine, and became the victims of the King's ambition. Scarcely a man returned to relate the particulars, excepting those who were left behind in the garrisons; and the few of those

troops who evaded the enemy did not escape the more fatal vengeance of their King, who ordered them to be put to death on their return to Dehly.

Baha-ood-Deen, the King's nephew, a nobleman of high reputation, known more generally by his original name of Koorshasip, possessed a government in the Deccan called Sagur.* He began to turn his thoughts towards the throne, and gained over many of the nobles of his principality to his interest. Through the influence of these chiefs, and by the great riches he had acquired, the power of Koorshasip became so formidable, that he attacked some chiefs, who continued firm in their allegiance to the King, and obliged them to take refuge in the fort of Mando. The King having intelligence of this revolt, commanded Khwaja Jehan, with many other officers, and the whole of the Guzerat forces, to chastise the rebel chief. When the King's army arrived before Degwur, they found the troops of Koorshasip drawn up in order of battle to receive them. After a gallant contest, the rebel chieftain was defeated, owing to the defection of Khizr Bahram, one of his principal officers, who, with his whole division, went over to the royal army during the engagement. Koorshasip fled to Sagur; but not daring to remain there, he carried off his family and wealth to Kumpila†, in the Carnatic, and took refuge in the dominions of the

A. H. 739. A. D. 1338.

* This must be Sagur, near Koolburga.

† I believe there is a place of this name on the Toongbudra, near Beejanuggur.

raja of that place, with whom he had maintained a friendly intercourse.

Mahomed Toghluk, in the mean time, took the field, and arriving soon after at Dewgur, sent from thence Khwája Jehan with a force against Koorshasip, and the Rája of Kumpíla. The royalists were twice defeated; but fresh reinforcements arriving from Dewgur, Khwája Jehan engaged the Raja a third time, and gained a victory, in which the Raja of Kumpila was made prisoner, but Koorshasip fled to the court of Bilal Dew *, who, fearing to draw the same misfortunes upon himself as the neighbouring raja had done, seized Koorshasip, and sent him bound to Kwája Jehan, and at the same time acknowledged the supremacy of the King of Dehly. Khwája Jehan immediately despatched the prisoner to court, when he was ordered to be flayed, and shown a horrid spectacle, all around the city, while the executioner proclaimed aloud, "Thus shall all traitors "to their king perish."

The King was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Dewgur, and considered it so much more centrical than Dehly, that he determined to make it his capital. On proposing this subject to his ministers, the majority were of opinion, that Oojein was a more proper place for that purpose. The King, however, had previously formed his resolution; he, therefore, gave orders, that the city of Dehly, then the envy of the world, should be evacuated, and that men, women, and

* Raja of Dwar Sumoodra.

children, with all their effects and cattle, should migrate to Dewgur. To add importance to the event, he caused trees to be torn up by the roots, and planted in rows along the road, to yield the travellers shade; and required that all who had not money to defray the expense of their removal, should be fed on the journey at the public expense. He directed, also, that for the future Dewgur should be called Dowlutabad. He raised several fine buildings within it, and excavated a deep ditch round the fort, which he repaired and beautified. On the top of the hill whereon the citadel stood, he formed new reservoirs for water, and made a beautiful garden. These measures, however, greatly affected the King's popularity, and disgusted the people.

Mahomed Toghluk having effected this object, marched his army against the fort of Kondhana *, near Joonere. Nag-nak, a Koly chieftain, opposed him, with great bravery, but was forced to take refuge within his walls. As the place was built on the summit of a steep mountain, inaccessible but by one narrow pass cut through the rock, the King had no hopes of reducing it but by famine. He accordingly caused it to be closely blockaded, and at the same time made some attacks on the works, in which he was repulsed with heavy loss. The garrison, distressed for provisions, and having no hopes of the King's retreat, at length evacuated the fort, at the expiration of eight months, after which the King returned to Dowlutabad.

A. H. 741. A.D. 1340.

He had not been long in his capital, when he heard

* Kondhana, the modern Singur, near Poma.

that his father's old friend, Mullik Beiram Abia, the viceroy of Mooltan, had rebelled, and was then reducing the Punjab. The cause of the revolt was this. Mahomed Toghluk having issued orders to all his officers to send their families to Dowlutabad, Ally the messenger, who was despatched to Mooltan, presuming too much upon the King's authority, had, on observing some hesitation on the part of Mullik Beiram, proceeded to impertinent threats; and one day even told Mullik Beiram's son-in-law, that he believed the viceroy meditated treason against the state. High words arose between them, which ended in blows; and the messenger's head was struck off by one of Mullik Beiram's servants. Mullik Beiram, knowing the violent temper of the King, foresaw that this disrespect to his authority would never be forgiven, and resolved to take up arms. The King, on learning what had occurred, put his army in motion, towards Mooltan; and Mullik Beiram prepared to oppose it. The two armies, each eager for victory, engaged with resolution; and, after a considerable slaughter, on both sides, the troops of Mullik Beiram were defeated. The King then gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants of Mooltan, but the learned sheikh, Rookn-ood-Deen interceded for them, and prevented the effects of this cruel mandate. Mullik Beiram, being over-taken in the pursuit, was slain, and his head brought to the King, who returned towards Dehly.

At sight of their native country and city, all those persons who had been forced to Dowlutabad began to desert the army and to disperse themselves

in the woods. The Emperor, to prevent the consequences of this desertion, took up his residence in the city, whither he invited his troops to return, and remained there for the space of two years; but again resolving to make Dowlutabad his capital, he removed his own family, and compelled the nobles to do the same. He also carried off the whole of the inhabitants a second time to the Deccan, leaving the noble metropolis of Dehly a resort for owls, and a dwelling-place for the beasts of the desert.

A. H. 741. A. D. 1340.

At this time the taxes were so heavy, and exacted with such rigour by the revenue officers, that in the whole extent of that fertile tract, lying between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, the cultivators, weary of their lives, set fire to their houses, and retired to the woods with their families and cattle. Many populous towns were abandoned, and remained so for several years. The colony of Dowlutabad was also in great distress. The people, without houses, and without employment, were reduced to the utmost misery. The tyrannical caprices of this despot exceed any thing we have met with in history; of which the following is a horrid instance. While he remained at Dehly he led his army out to hunt, as is customary with princes. When he arrived in the district of Beiram, he plainly told his officers, that he came not to hunt beasts, but men, and without any obvious reason, began to massacre the inhabitants. He had even the barbarity to bring home some thousands of their heads, and to hang them over the city walls. On another occasion he made

an excursion towards Kunowj, and put to death the inhabitants of that city, and the neighbourhood for many miles round, spreading terror and desolation wherever he turned his eyes.

During this time Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen, after the death of Mullik Beiram, rebelled in the eastern provinces. He slew Kuddur Khan, and possessed himself of the three provinces of Bengal, viz. Luknowty, Soonargam, and Chutgam (Chittagong). Advices were also brought, that Syud Hussun had rebelled in Maabir *, on which the King ordered Syud-Ibrahim, the son of Syud Hussun, and all his family, to prison, and himself marched in the year 742, after the sacking of Kunowj, towards Maabir. When he reached Dowlutabad, he laid a heavy contribution on that city and the neighbouring provinces, which created an insurrection; but his numerous army soon reduced the insurgents to their former state of slavery. From Dowlutabad he sent back a part of his army under Khwaja Jehan to Dehly, while he himself marched towards Maabir by the way of Tulingana.

A. H. 742.
A. D. 1341.

When Mahomed Toghluk arrived before Wurungole, a pestilence broke out in his camp, to which a great part of his army fell victim. He had, on this occasion, nearly lost his own life, and was induced to leave one of his officers, Mullik Naib Imad-ool-Moolk, to command the army, and to return himself towards Dowlutabad. On the way, he was afflicted with a violent tooth-ache, and lost

* The western coast of the peninsula.

one of his teeth, which he ordered to be buried with much ceremony at Beer, and caused a magnificent tomb to be reared over it, which still remains a monument of his vanity and folly. Having arrived at Moongy-Peitun, he found himself better, and halted to take medicines for some days. In this place he gave to Shahab-ood-Deen Mooltany the title of Noosrut-Khan, and the government of Bidur with its dependencies, which yielded annually a revenue of one crore of rupees. He, at the same time, conferred the government of Dowlutabad, and the country of Mahrashtra, upon Kootloogh Khan, who had been his tutor in early life.

From Peitun he proceeded in his palky to Dehly, having heard of some disturbance among the Afghans in that capital; and, on this occasion, he gave permission to such of the inhabitants of Dowlutabad as were willing to return to Dehly, to do so. Many thousands made the attempt, but several of them perished on the way by a famine, which then desolated the countries of Malwa and Chundery. When the rest reached Dehly, they found the famine raging there with such fury, that very few persons could procure the necessaries of life. The King's heart seemed for once to be softened with the miseries of his subjects. He even, for a time, changed his conduct, and took some pains to encourage husbandry and commerce, and, for this purpose, distributed large sums to the inhabitants from the treasury. But, as the people were distressed for food, they expended the money in the necessaries of life, and

many of them were severely punished upon that account.

Shahoo*, a chief of the mountain Afghans, about this time commenced hostilities in the north, and poured down with his followers like a torrent upon Mooltan. He laid waste the province, slew Behzad Khan, the viceroy, in battle, and put his army to flight. The King now prepared an army at Dehly, and moved towards Mooltan; but Shahoo, on his approach, wrote him a submissive letter, and fled to the mountains of Afghanistan. Perceiving that it would be useless to pursue him, the King returned to Dehly. The famine still continued to rage in the city, so that men ate one another. The King, in this distress, ordered a second distribution of money towards the sinking of wells, and the cultivation of lands, but the people, weakened by hunger, and distracted by private distresses in their families, made very little progress in restoring prosperity, while the continuation of the drought rendered all their labours vain. At this time, also, the tribes of Mundulla, Chowhan, Meeana, Bhurteea, and others, who inhabited the country about Soonam and Samana, unable to discharge their rents, fled to the woods. The King marched forthwith in that direction, and massacred several thousands of them.

A. H. 743. A. D. 1342. In the year 743, Mullik Heidur, a chief of the Gukkurs, invaded Punjab, and slew Tartar Khan, the viceroy of La-

* This is, probably, some error in the original; but which the editor could not venture to alter.

bore, in action. To reduce this enemy, Khwaja Jehan was sent into that quarter. The King, at this time, took it into his head, that all the calamities of his reign proceeded from his not having been confirmed on his throne by the Abassy Caliph. He, therefore, despatched presents and ambassadors to Arabia, and caused the Caliph's name, in place of his own, to be struck on all the current coin, and prohibited his own name from being included at public worship in the mosques, till the Caliph's confirmation arrived.

A. H. 744. A. D. 1344. In the year 744, a holy person, of the race of the Prophet, named Hajy Sayeed Hoormozy, returned with the ambassador, and brought a letter from the Caliph and a royal dress. The Caliph's envoy was met 12 miles outside the city by the King in person, who advanced to receive him on foot, put the letter of the Caliph upon his head, and opened it with great solemnity and respect. When he returned into the city, he ordered a grand festival to be made, and caused the public prayers to be said in all the mosques, striking out every king's name from the Khootba who had not been confirmed. Among the number of those degraded monarchs was the King's own father. He even carried this fancy so far, as to cause the Caliph's name to appear on all his robes, and furniture. The ambassador, after having been sumptuously entertained, received a letter to his master, full of respect, and also bore presents of great value. He was accompanied on his return by Kubeer Khan, commander of the household troops.

This year Krishn Naig, the son of Luddur Dew, who lived near Wurungole, went privately to Bilal Dew, Raja of the Carnatic, and told him, that he had heard the Mahomedans, who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindoos, that it was, therefore, advisable to combine against them. Bilal Dew, convened a meeting of his kinsmen, and resolved, first, to secure the forts of his own country, and then to remove his seat of government among the mountains. Krishn Naig promised, on his part also, that when their plans were ripe for execution, to raise all the Hindoos of Wurungole and Tulingana, and put himself at their head.

Bilal Dew, accordingly, built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it after his son Beeja, to which the word nuggur, or city, was added; so that it is now known by the name of Beejanuggur. * He then raised an army, and put part of it under the command of Krishn Naig, who reduced Wurungole, and compelled Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor, to retreat to Dowlutabad. Bilal Dew and Krishn Naig, united to their forces the troops of the Rajas of Maabir and Dwar-Sumoodra, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic. The confederate Hindoos seized the country occupied by the Mahomedans, in the Deccan, and expelled them, so that within a few months, Mahomed Toghluk had no possessions in that quarter except Dowlutabad.

* Vijeianuggur, the city of victory.

On receiving this intelligence, the King was exasperated, and became more cruel than ever, wreaking his rage upon his own subjects, whom he slew without distinction. His conduct occasioned general disaffection; and the effects of anarchy prevailed throughout the realm. The famine still continued in the city of Dehly, and the people deserted it; till at length the King, unable to procure provisions even for his household, was obliged to abandon it also, and to open the gates, and permit the few half-starved inhabitants whom he had lately confined to provide for themselves. Thousands crowded towards Bengal, which, as we have before observed, had revolted from his rule. Mahomed Toghluk encamped his army near Kampila* and Putially, on the banks of the Ganges, and drew supplies from the countries of Oude and Kurra. The people of his camp here built houses, till at length a town arose under the name of Surgdewary.

A. H. 745. A. D. 1345. In the year 745, one Nizam Bein, a person of low origin, was governor of Sumbhul. This person, unable to collect the estimated revenue, and which he had promised, raised a mob of the discontented farmers, and assuming the royal ensigns, took the title of Alla-ood-Deen. Before the King, however, could march against him, Ein-ool-Moolk, the Soobadar of Oude, raised forces, defeated him, and sent his head to court. Noosrut Khan, who had farmed

* It is proper to remark here, that there are two places of the name, the one Kampila, on the Ganges, and the other situated in the Carnatic (properly so called), near Beejanuggur.

the revenue of the whole province of Bidur at one crore of rupees, unable to make good that contract, also rebelled in the same year; but Kootloogh Khan, being ordered against him from Dowlutabad, expelled him from his government. During this period, Ameer Ally, the nephew of Zuffur Khan Allahy, one of the Ameer Judeeda*, was sent from Dowlutabad, to collect the revenue of Koolburga; but finding no legitimate authority in the country, he summoned together his Mogul brethren, raised an army, and occupied Koolburga and Bidur on his own account, in the year 746. Mahomed Toghluk, on this occasion, sent the Malwa army as a reinforcement to Kootloogh Khan to suppress this rebellion. When Kootloogh Khan arrived on the confines of Bidur, Ameer Ally gave him battle, but was defeated, and obliged to shut himself up in the city. He was, however, soon obliged to capitulate, and Kootloogh Khan carried him prisoner to the King at Surgdewary, who banished him and his brethren to Ghizny. These people returning to Dehly some time afterwards, without permission, they were apprehended, and put to death.

A. H. 746.
A. D. 1346.

* It is proper to mention in this place, that the Ameer Judeeda (new officers) was a term given to the newly-converted Moguls and their descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced the Mahomedan religion, and the service of the kings of Dehly at the same time. Being foreigners, and without any local partialities, they were deemed the best instruments for carrying into effect the orders of a despotic prince. They were, however, bold and high spirited, and soon shook off their allegiance.

Ein-ool-Moolk, Soobadar of Oude, having paid great attention to the King, and entirely gained his favour, was appointed to the viceroyship of Dowlutabad, and Wurungole, in the room of Kootloogh Khan. Ein-ool-Moolk considered this appointment as a prelude, on the part of the King, to deprive him of office; for when he considered the services which Kootloogh Khan had rendered in the Deccan, and the power he enjoyed, Ein-ool-Moolk concluded the King only intended to withdraw him from his own province, in order eventually to deprive him of office altogether. Meanwhile, a number of the clerks of the revenues, being convicted of abuses in their departments, were ordered to be put to death. Some who survived, found means to escape to Ein-ool-Moolk, and endeavoured to confirm him in his suspicions of the King's intentions. Ein-ool-Moolk accordingly refused to proceed to the Deccan, and breaking out into rebellion, sent a detachment of horse under the command of his brother, who carried off all the elephants, camels, and horses that were foraging near the royal camp. The King instantly summoned the troops in the vicinity to his assistance, while Khwaja Jehan joined him with a force from Dehly. The King now marched against Ein-ool-Moolk, who by this time had crossed the Ganges, and was advancing. Ein-ool-Moolk had hopes that the royal army, disgusted with their sovereign, would join him. The King behaved with great intrepidity on this occasion. He mounted his horse, and led his troops in person, and after a sharp conflict put the

A. H. 747. A. D. 1346. rebels to flight. Ein-ool-Moolk was taken prisoner, and his brother Sheikh Oolla, who had been wounded in the action, was drowned while swimming across the Ganges; and Ruheem-Dad, another brother, was slain on the field. Contrary to expectation, the King not only pardoned Ein-ool-Moolk, but restored him to his former office, saying, that he was certain he was a loyal subject, but had been instigated to this rebellion by others. He now proceeded to Bhyraich, to pay his devotions at the tomb of Salar Musaood Ghazy, one of the descendants of Sooltan Mahmood of Ghizny, who had been killed there by the Hindoos, in the year 557. (A.D.1162.) He distributed alms among the fakeers, who resided at Bhyraich, and then returned to Dehly. After this period, Hajy Rujub Ruffeea returned from Bagdad, and Sheikh-oos-Sheiookh Misry arrived as envoy from the Caliph. He was received with the same distinctions as the former ambassador, and was dismissed with rich presents. Not long after, a prince of the house of Abass arrived at Dehly, and was met by the King in state, at the village of Palum. He was presented with two lacks of tunkas, (3333*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*) an estate, a palace at Dehly, and five gardens. Out of respect to the Caliph, this prince was always placed on the King's right hand at court, and the King sometimes even condescended to sit on the carpet below him.

It was at this period, that some of the courtiers calumniated Kootloogh Khan, governor of Dowlu-

tabad, and accused him of oppression and abuse of authority in his government, though, in truth, he was a man of great integrity. The King, however, recalled him, and ordered his brother Mowlana Nizam-ood-Deen, then at Baroach (to whom he gave the title of Alum-ool-Moolk), to assume charge of the government of the Deccan, till he should send some other person from court. When the King's order arrived, Kootloogh Khan was employed in constructing a reservoir of water, which is called the Houz-i-Kootloo * to this day. This work he begged of his brother to complete, and prepared to return to Dehly, with the revenues of the Deccan, which he had previously secured in the fort of Dhara-Gir, the hill-fort of Dowlutabad, so called. After the arrival of Kootloogh Khan, the Deccan was divided into four provinces, and four governors were nominated, who had orders to reduce it, as before, to the King's authority. To accomplish this end, a numerous army, under the command of Imad-ool-Moolk, now created Sipah-Salar of the Deccan, was directed to march to Dowlutabad; Survur-ool-Moolk, and Yoosoof Bokraz, two officers of distinction, were also sent with him. These three officers were ordered to place themselves under the immediate authority of Alum-ool-Moolk, the newly appointed viceroy; and it was estimated that they would be able to realise, annually, a revenue of seven crore of silver tunkas †, out of the resources of the country.

* This reservoir, on the table-land above Dowlutabad, is still to be seen.

† If the tunka be estimated at 4*d*., according to the comput-

So extremely ill did this arrangement turn out, that the people, disgusted at the removal of Kootloogh Khan, and the want of capacity displayed by the new administration, rebelled in all quarters, and the country was devastated and depopulated in consequence.

To make up the deficiency of the revenue, as well as to gratify their own avarice, the Deccan officers plundered and oppressed the inhabitants. At this time, also, the government of Malwa was conferred on Azeez, a person of low origin, formerly a wine-seller, who was told that the Ameer Judeeda being considered dangerous subjects by the King, he must contrive some plan for their extirpation. These measures being put in train, the King marched back to his old cantonments at Surgdewary, and began to promote agriculture on a plan originating with himself. He appointed an inspector of husbandry, by the name of Amurgo, literally, one who issues commands. This person divided the country into districts of 60 miles square, each placed under an officer to be responsible for its cultivation and improvement. About 100 of these officers received their appointments at once, and 70 laks of tunkas, (116,666*l.*) were issued out of the treasury, in two years, to enable them to carry on the business. The object, however, entirely failed; and it is likely,

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ation of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy, this sum would amount to 1,166,666*l.* sterling, which, considering the loose tenure by which the Moslems held their possessions in the Deccan, seems a large sum.

if the King had ever returned to Dehly, he would not have spared the life of one of those revenue officers.

When Azeez arrived at Dhâr, in Malwa, he invited the Ameer Judeeda, or foreign chiefs, to an entertainment, and assassinated 70 of them with their attendants. He wrote to the King an account of this transaction, who sent him a present of a dress and a fine horse, and required all the officers of his court to write congratulatory letters on the subject, and to send him each a present. The King had lately taken into his head, that he should be better served by people of low birth than by men of family. He accordingly promoted Lutchena, a singer, Peeroo, a gardener, and Munga his son, Baboo, a weaver, Mokbil, a slave, and other mean persons, to the rank of nobles, and raised them to the command of provinces, and to high offices at court; forgetting the lines of the poet, who observes,

"Let the man who shall raise up a slave recollect,
"If ever a grateful return he expect,
"That his labour is lost; and too late he shall find
"A venomous reptile his heart hath entwined." *

Having discovered that men of character would not become the instruments of his wickedness, the King elevated these wretches to rank and power; but the consequence was, that the hereditary nobles, and more particularly the Ameer Judeeda (the foreign officers), only watched for opportunities to revolt, especially after the massacre by Azeez in Malwa. This spirit was first evinced in Guzerat.

* Firdowsy's satire on Sooltan Mahmood Ghiznevy.

On the discovery of the feelings of the nobles, the King's new governor, Mullik Mokbil, who, with the title of Khan Jehan, had been just nominated to the office, secured the treasure, and proceeded to Dehly. The Ameer Judeeda, hearing of his movements, intercepted him with a body of horse, and not only robbed but compelled him to retire to Nehrwala, the capital of Guzerat. The King, on hearing of this assault, prepared to march to Guzerat, leaving his nephew Feroze governor at Dehly. In the year 748, he encamped at Sooltanpoor, about 30 miles from the city, where he waited till he could collect his army.

A. H. 748.
A. D. 1347.

Kootloogh Khan, the King's preceptor, and the ex-viceroy of the Deccan, being then at the capital, sent a message to the King through Zeea-ood-Deen Burny, the author of the history of Feroze Shah, saying that this petty insurrection did not demand the presence of the King; himself volunteering to march, and bring matters to issue; observing, that the absence of the King, at this particular moment, from Dehly might favour a rebellion in other quarters. This advice had no effect on Mahomed Toghluk who continued his preparations for moving as before. An address now came from Azeez, the vintner's son, begging to be allowed to reduce the foreign chiefs of Guzerat, he being nearer to the scene, and having a sufficient force, as he supposed, for that purpose. The King assented, but expressed much doubt of his success, knowing him to be a dastard, and without experience. Azeez advanced towards Guzerat; but

in the beginning of the action he was panic-struck, and falling from his horse was taken and suffered a cruel death, while his army was totally defeated.

The King, when informed of this disaster, proceeded without delay. It was during this journey that he told Zeea-ood-Deen Burny the historian, that he understood the people thought these rebellions arose out of his severe punishments; "but," said he, "they shall never prevent them. "Crimes must be punished. You are a great his- "torian, and learned in the law, in what instances "are capital punishments warranted?"

The historian replied, "Seven sorts of criminals "deserve severe punishment. These are, 1. Apos- "tates from their religion. 2. Those who shed "innocent blood. 3. Double adulterers. 4. Re- "bellious persons. 5. Officers disobeying law- "ful orders. 6. Thieves. 7. Perverters of the "laws."

The King then asked, "How many of these seven "are mentioned in the law of the Koran?" Zeea-ood-Deen said, "Three; apostates, shedders of "Mahomedan blood, and double adulterers. The "other four are punishable consistently with good "policy." The King said, "All this may be very "true, but mankind has become much worse since "those laws were made."

When the King reached the hills of Aboogur, on the confines of Guzerat, he sent one of his generals against the rebels. He encountered them in the vicinity of the village of Devy, and gave them a total defeat. The King now proceeded by slow marches to Baroach, and Mullik Mokbil was sent in pursuit of

the rebels. This officer came up with them on the Nurbudda, put the greatest part to the sword; and the few who escaped took refuge with Man-Dew, Raja of Buglana, by whom they were plundered of their wealth.

On this occasion many of the Mogul chiefs fell; and the towns of Cambay and Surat were sacked by the King's troops. The King now resolved to seize the persons of the Ameer Judeeda of the Deccan; and he proposed doing it thus: Zein-ood-Deen Zund, entitled Movyeid-ood-Deen, and Mullik Mokbil, the son of Rookn-ood-Deen Tahnesurry, both of whom were the most disreputable fellows of the time, were employed and sent to Dowlutabad, to secure the Ameer Judeeda, and to bring them to punishment. Mullik Mokbil, according to orders, repaired to Dowlutabad, and summoned the Ameer Judeeda from Rachoor, Moodkul Koolburga, Bidur, Bejapoor, Gunjouty, Raibagh, Gilhurry, Hookerry, and Berar. *

The Ameer Judeeda, conformably to those orders, prepared to come to Dowlutabad; and when they arrived, Mullik Mokbil seized and despatched them, under a guard of 1500 horse, to the royal presence. On arriving on the Deccan frontier, at the Manukpoonj pass, fearing the King had a design on their lives, they entered into a confederacy, and with one accord fell upon the guard, and slew Ahmud Lacheen who com-

* This geographical sketch gives a good notion of the extent of the Mahomedan conquests before the period of the independent kings of the Deccan.

manded the escort, with many of his people, and the rest of the King's troops under the command of one Hoossein Ally fled to Dowlutabad. The Ameer Judeeda pursued them closely, and before measures could be taken to put the place in a state of defence, they took it, being favoured by the garrison. Having experienced kindness from the viceroy, Alum-ool-Moolk, the insurgents spared his life and property, but the rest of the King's officers were put to death, and the public treasure was divided among the captors. The Ameer Judeeda of Guzerat and other parts, who had retired to the woods and mountains, hearing of the success of their brethren in the Deccan, joined them; and Ismael, one of their leaders, was proclaimed King, by the title of Nasir-ood-Deen.

A. H. 748. A. D. 1347.

Mahomed Toghluk, hearing of this revolution, left Baroach, and proceeded towards Dowlutabad. The Ameer Judeeda drew out their army, and waited to give him battle. The two armies met; and the insurgent troops, though greatly inferior in point of numbers, roused by their danger and wrongs, assaulted the royal troops with such violence, that the right and left wings fell back, and the whole army was upon the point of flight. But many of the chieftains who fought in the van being killed, 4000 of the troops of the Ameer Judeeda fled, and night coming on, left the battle undecided. A council was called by the Ameer Judeeda, who had suffered severely in the engagement, and it was determined that their King,

Ismael, should retire into Dowlutabad, with a strong garrison. That the remainder should disperse till Mahomed Toghluk might quit the Deccan; when they resolved to re-assemble at Dowlutabad. Mahomed Toghluk, meanwhile, having ordered Imad-ool-moolk, then at Elichpoor, to pursue the fugitives, himself laid siege to Dowlutabad.

In this state of affairs, advices arrived that one Mullik Toghan, heading the Ameer Judeeda of Guzerat, had been joined by many of the zemindars, and had not only taken possession of Nehrwala the capital, but had put to death Moozuffur Khan, the Naib of Guzerat, had imprisoned Moiz-ood-Deen the governor, and after having plundered Cambay, was now besieging Baroach. Mahomed Toghluk, on hearing this news, left one of his generals to conduct the siege of Dowlutabad, and with the greater part of his army marched to Guzerat. He was plundered on his route of many elephants, and a great part of his baggage, by the Deccanees, by whom he was closely pursued. Having, however, arrived at Baroach, and encamped on the Nurbudda, Mullik Toghan retreated to Cambay, whither he was followed by Mullik Yoosoof Bokraz, whom the King detached in pursuit. Mullik Toghan engaged his pursuers at Cambay, and not only defeated them, but slew Mullik Yoosoof, and many other officers of distinction. He also caused all the prisoners taken in the action, as well as those formerly in confinement, to be put to death, among whom was Moiz-ood-Deen, the governor of Guzerat.

Mahomed Toghluk, hearing of this cruelty, and breathing nothing but revenge, hastened to Cambay; but Mullik Toghan, unable to oppose him, retreated, and the King, owing to the state of the weather and bad roads, was obliged to halt at Asawul. * Here advices were received, that Mullik Toghan had recruited his army at Nehrwala, and was returning to give battle. The royal troops met him at Kurry. Mullik Toghan had injudiciously caused his men to be intoxicated with strong liquors, so that they attacked the royalists with the fury of madmen; but the elephants in front checked their approach, and eventually threw them into disorder. An easy victory was obtained: five hundred prisoners were taken and put to death, and an equal number fell on the field. The King despatched the son of Mullik Yoosoof Boghraz in pursuit of Toghan after the battle; but he quitted Nehrwala, and fled, with his family and followers, to Tutta, in Sind. The King, meanwhile, went in person to Nehrwala, and was employed for some time in restoring order in Guzerat.

At this time news arrived from the Deccan that the foreign officers had re-assembled under one Hussun Gungoo; had defeated and slain the royalist general, Imad-ool-Moolk, and had expelled all the royal troops towards Malwa. Also, that Ismael had resigned his regal dignity, to which Hussun Gungoo had succeeded, under the title of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo Bahmuny. Mahomed Toghluk, on receipt of this information,

* Now known by the name of Ahmudabad.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY BRANCH OFFICE

began to consider his own severity might be the cause of all these disorders. He therefore resolved to govern with more mildness for the future. In the first place, however, he sent for his nephew Feroze, and other nobles, with their troops from Dehly, in order to employ them against Hussun Gungoo.

Before these chiefs arrived, the Deccan army had become so formidable, that the King determined, in the first instance, to settle Guzerat, and to reduce Girnal (now called Joonagur), after which, he intended to march in person to the Deccan. He spent the greatest part of that year in Guzerat recruiting his army, and in the following year he was taken up in besieging Girnal and in reducing Kutch. Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud states, that Mahomed Toghluk took the fort of Girnal; but other authors of good authority relate, that he desisted from the attempt, on receiving offerings from the Raja; and that the fort of Girnal was not taken by the Mahomedans till it fell to the arms of Mahmood Shah, Begurra of Guzerat, A. H. 873. (A. D. 1469.) Zeea-ood-Deen Burny informs us, that Mahomed Toghluk, addressing him one day, said, that the disorders of the state were of such a nature, that he no sooner put down disaffection in one place than it broke out in another, and asked the historian to suggest to him some remedy. Zeea-ood-Deen replied, that when disaffection had once taken root so deeply in the minds of the people, it was not to be exterminated without tearing up the vitals of the state. The King, he observed, ought now to be

convinced how little was to be effected by mere punishment; and he stated that the wisest men had recommended that a monarch, in his circumstances, should abdicate the throne in favour of his heir, in order to obliterate the remembrance of former wrongs, and dispose the people to peace and good order. Mahomed Toghluk (says Burny) answered, in an angry tone, that he had no one whom he could trust, and that he was determined to scourge his subjects for their rebellion, whatever might be the consequence.

The King, soon after this conversation with Burny, fell sick at Gondul, a town within fifteen coss of Girnal (Joonagur), where he remained till the arrival of Khwaja Jehan, whom he had previously sent to Dehly to conciliate and bring with him the principal men of the state. The King, having recovered a little from his disorder, mustered his army, and directed boats to be collected from Mooltan, Oocha, and Depalpoor, and to be brought to Tutta. Marching thence from Gondel, the army reached the banks of the Indus, which they crossed in spite of some opposition made by Toghan. The King was here joined by five thousand Mogul horse under the command of Altoon Bahâdur, with which reinforcement he proceeded to Tutta, in order to chastise the Soomura * Prince of Sind, who had given protection to Toghan. Within sixty miles of that city the King halted, to pass the first ten days of the month of

* The dynasty of Soomura reigned for many years in Sind; and their history forms a part of this work.

Mohurrum; where, having eaten to excess of fish, he was seized with a fever. He could not be prevailed on to remain quiet till he recovered, but embarked in a vessel, and proceeded to within 30 miles of Tutta, where he expired, on the 21st day of Mohurrum, in the year 752. And thus this cruel tyrant became the victim of death, after a reign of 27 years.

Mohurrum 21. A. H. 752. March 20. A. D. 1351.

FEROZE TOGHLUK.

Mutiny in the army. — The Mogul troops plunder the treasury — Feroze, the King's cousin, is raised to the throne in the camp — his claim disputed at Dehly — but is subsequently acknowledged. — The independence of the Deccan and Bengal acknowledged by the reception of ambassadors. — War with Bengal. — The Dehly army proceeds to Jajnuggur, in Orissa. The King's eldest son, Mahomed, suspected of treason. — The King reconciled to him — resigns the government into his hands. — A governor is sent to Guzerat, who is refused admittance. — A conspiracy formed to depose the new King, who is besieged in his capital. — The old King is brought out by the populace, the new King expelled. — The Prince Gheias-ood-Deen is raised to the throne. — Death of Feroze Toghluk at the age of 90 — his character. — The public works executed during his reign.

At the time of the death of Mahomed Toghluk, his cousin Feroze, nephew of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk, was in the camp. Mahomed Toghluk having a great affection for him, proposed making him his successor, and accordingly recommended him as such on his death-bed to his nobles. On the King's demise, the army fell into the utmost disorder; to remedy which, Feroze gained over the majority of the Indian chiefs to his party, and prevailed on the Mogul mercenaries to remove to some distance from the camp, till he should be able to compose the differences which existed in the army. Ameer Nowroze, the Mogul chief who

commanded the troops of his nation in the army quitted the camp on the same night, and joined Altoon Tash, the leader of the auxiliary troops, to whom he suggested that the time was favourable for them to plunder the late King's treasure, and then to retreat to their native country. Altoon Tash being persuaded to enter into this scheme, the Moguls returned next morning to the camp, which was still in disorder, and after a sharp skirmish, loaded several camels with treasure. In order to secure himself from further depredation, Feroze led the army to Sevustan, commonly called Sehwan, and took every possible precaution to defend himself against the Moguls. Meanwhile, the officers of his army having waited on Feroze, entreated him to ascend the throne, to which, after some hesitation, he gave his assent, and was accordingly proclaimed King. On the same day he gave orders to ransom the prisoners, who during the late disorders had fallen into the hands of the people of Tutta, and on the third day he marched against the Mogul auxiliaries, whom he defeated, and took many of their chiefs prisoners.

A. H. 752.
A. D. 1351.

He now marched to the fort of Bhukur, where presents were conferred on the members of the court, and the army, as is usual on the accession of a new king; and donations were given also to the zemindars of Bhukur and Sehwan. From thence the King detached Imad-ool-Moolk and Ameer Ally Ghoory, with a part of his army, against the rebel Mullik Toghan, while he himself marched to Oocha, where he did many acts of benevolence and charity.

At Oocha the King received advices from Dehly, that Khwaja Jehan, a relation of the late King, then about 90 years of age, had placed upon the throne a boy six years old, of obscure origin, whom he had adopted, by the name of Mahomed, and had procured a number of the citizens to pay him allegiance. Feroze deputed Seif-ood-Deen, the controller of the elephant stables, to expostulate with the old man, and to induce him by promises of forgiveness and favour to relinquish his project. The King, meanwhile, remained some time with the army at Depalpoor, and thence proceeded to Ajoodhun, where he was joined by Mullik Mokbil. This chief had before received the title of Khan Jehan: he was now vested with the seals of office, and received an honorary dress in confirmation of his former dignity of vizier.

Feroze having reached Hansy, on his way to Dehly, met messengers from Khwaja Jehan, saying, that as the government was now in the hands of Mahomed Toghluk's son, it would be right for Feroze to acknowledge the title of the young King, and be content to act as regent during his minority. Feroze* confronted the bearers of this communication with the officers of his court, and asked

* If we consider the opposition encountered by Feroze from a part of his army, the caution he took from the first, before he proclaimed himself king, and the suspicious circumstances connected with the youth, who was actually crowned at Dehly by Khwaja Jehan, strong suspicions must arise that Feroze was an usurper; and although Ferishta does not positively assert it, he evidently supposes the youth who was set up at the capital, to have been a son of Mahomed Toghluk.

them whether they knew of the existence of any male descendant of Mahomed Toghluk. They all declared, that if Mowlana Kumal-ood-Deen, who was then present, did not know of any person, no one else could. On appealing to Mowlana Kumal-ood-Deen, he replied, that though there should even be any of his issue, it was advisable, under existing circumstances, to abide by the measures already adopted. I think, therefore, there is strong reason to believe, that the youth who was set up at Dehly was actually a son of Mahomed Toghluk, though it was at that time deemed prudent by the nobles not to recognise him.

A. H. 752. A. D. 1351.

After this event, Feroze deputed Sheikh Dawood, Mowlanazada (the messenger) of Khwaja Jehan, to relate what had passed, and to induce him to bring about an accommodation. Shortly after Sheikh Dawood reached the city, a number of the principal men of the place hastened to the camp, and paid their respects to Feroze. At the same time, advices were received from Guzerat, that Mullik Toghan had been defeated by Imad-ool-Moolk, and on that very day a son was born to the new King, whom he named Futteh Khan. These circumstances all concurred to confirm the power of Feroze. Khwaja Jehan, conceiving it impracticable to support the young King, agreed to an accommodation with Feroze, to whom he sent some respectable persons to intercede for pardon, and to solicit leave to pay his respects. Feroze willingly consented; and the old man, with his head bare, and his turban hung round his neck,

came, accompanied by some of the principal men of the city, to make his submission. The King, according to his promise, spared his life, but ordered the chief magistrate of Hansy to take him under his charge. Mullik Khutab, Khwaja Jehan's principal partisan, was banished to Bituhnda, and Sheikhzada Boostamy was expelled the court.

Rujub 22. A. H. 752. Sept. 14. A. D. 1351. On the 2d of Rujub, in the year 752, Feroze entered Dehly, and having ascended the throne, began to administer justice to his people, who flocked from all quarters with their petitions. On the 5th of Suffur, in the following year, on the plea of hunting, he removed his court to the Surmore hills, and reduced several zemindars to obedience. On Monday the 3d of Jumad-ool-Awul, the King had a second son born to him at Dehly, whom he named Mahomed, on which occasion great rejoicings were made, and presents distributed.

Suffur 5. A. H. 754. March 12. A.D. 1353.

Jumad-ool-Awul 3. A. H. 754. June 5. A. D. 1353.

In the year, 754, the King, having hunted at Kallanore, caused a palace to be built on the banks of the Soorsutty. In the month of Shuwal, of the same year, he appointed Khan Jehan to the charge of Dehly, and himself marched towards Luknowty, to subdue Hajy Elias. This chief had assumed royal honours, and the title of Shums-ood-Deen, and had also occupied with his troops the whole of Bengal and Behar, as far as Benares. On the King's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the zemindars of that

A. H. 754. A. D. 1353.

Shuwal. December.

place made the usual presents, and were admitted to pay their respects. The King then penetrated as far as Bundwa, one of the stations of Hajy Elias; and the latter retreated to Yekdulla, whither the King pursued him, and arrived there on the 7th of Rubbee-ool-Awul. An action ensued on the same day; but Hajy Elias having entrenched his position very strongly reduced the King to the necessity of surrounding him. The blockade continued for twenty days, when, on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Akhir, Feroze, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, left their works, and drew up in order of battle. On perceiving it was the King's intention to attack them, however, they again retreated, but with such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants and many standards fell into the King's hands. The rainy season soon after came on with great violence; peace was concluded; and the King returned to Dehly, without effecting his object.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 7. A.H. 755. April 1. A.D. 1354.

Rubbee-ool-Akhir 5. April 29.

In the year 755, Feroze built the city of Ferozabad adjoining that of Dehly; and on the 12th of Shaban he marched to Depalpoor, and constructed a canal 48 coss in length, from the Sutloog to the Kugur. In the year 757 he constructed another canal, between the hills of Mundvy and Surmore, from the Jumna, into which

A.H. 755. A.D. 1354. Shaban 12. A.H. 756. July 12. A.D. 1355. A.H. 757. A.D. 1356.

he led seven other minor streams, which all uniting, ran in one channel through Hansy, and from thence to Raiseen *, where he built a strong fort which he called Hissar Feroza. He also conveyed an aqueduct from the Kugur, over the river Soorsutty, to the village of Pery Kehra, where he founded a city, named after him Ferozabad. At the same time he introduced another canal from the Jumna, which filled a large lake he caused to be constructed at Hissar Feroza. In the month of Zeehuj 757. Jan. 1356. Zeehuj an honorary dress, and a letter of congratulation on his accession, were presented from Abool Futteh Aboo-Bukr Aby-Rubeea Sooliman, Caliph of Egypt. In the same month, also, he received an embassy with fresh proposals of peace from Bengal, which Feroze accepted, and soon after ratified. From that period, both Bengal and the Deccan became in a great measure independent of Dehly, paying only a small tribute. In the year 758, Zuffur A. H. 758. A. D. 1357. Khan Farsy, coming from Soonargam, was appointed deputy to the Vizier.

In the year 759, the King of Bengal A. H. 759. A. D. 1358. sent a number of elephants and other rich presents to Dehly, in return for which a number of Arabian and Persian horses, some jewels, and other rich curiosities, were sent back. When the Dehly embassy arrived at Behar, news was received of the death of Shums-ood-Deen, King of Bengal, and also of his son Sikundur

* This place must not be confounded with a town of the same name in Malwa.

having succeeded to the throne. The envoy, therefore, thought proper not to proceed, but returned to Dehly. The King, being in the same year encamped at Sumana, received advices that the Moguls had made an incursion as far as Depalpoor; he forthwith ordered Kubool Khan (Lord of the Bed-chamber) with an army against them; but the enemy, before his arrival, having laden themselves with spoil, retreated towards their own country.

A. H. 760. A. D. 1359. In the year 760, the King marched an army in the direction of Luknowty, but being overtaken by heavy rains at Zuffurabad, he remained there during the monsoon. While at this place, Sheikzada Boostamy, who had been banished on the accession of Feroze, arrived as ambassador on the part of the Caliph of Egypt, with a dress, on which account he was graciously received, and honoured with the title of Azim-ool-Moolk. An embassy was now despatched to Sikundur Shah Poorbeea, the new King of Bengal, and in return, an envoy came, bringing with him five elephants and other valuable presents. Notwithstanding these overtures, Feroze marched, after the rains, towards Luknowty, and, on his way, conferred the ensigns of royalty on his son the Prince Futteh Khan, at the same time appointing tutors for his instruction. Feroze arrived at Bundwa, when Sikundur Shah, following the example of his father, retreated to Yekdulla, and shut himself up in that place. Being, however, closely invested, and reduced to great distress, he sent 48 elephants and other

presents to the King of Dehly, with overtures for peace. In a few days, terms were agreed on; and Feroze returned as far as Joonpoor, where he quartered his army for another season, and then moved towards Jajnuggur. On reaching the town of Songhur, he plundered that country, and its ruler (Ray Sidhun) fled. His daughter, who bore the title of Shukr Khatoon *, fell into the King's hands, and was brought up as his own child. The King thence proceeded to a town called Benares †, the capital of the Prince of Jajnuggur. The Raja fled, on the approach of Feroze, towards Tulingana. Having plundered this country also, Feroze returned, and on his way was met by the Raja of Beerbhoom, who presented him with 37 elephants and other valuable presents, in consideration of his not ravaging his territory. The King, having received these presents, changed his route, and, as he passed through the woods of Pudmawutty, which abound with elephants, he caught 30 of those animals, and killed two others, that could not be taken: continuing his march, he reached Dehly in the year 762.

A. H. 762.
A. D. 1360.

On his return, in the month of Rujub, to Dehly, the King heard, that in the vicinity of Perwar was a hill, out of which ran a stream that emptied

* This title, signifying "the Sweet Lady," must have been given to her by the King after her captivity.

† Not Benares on the Ganges. It is not improbable that the Raja, during his reign, chose to give to his capital the name of the Holy City, which it lost after his death. Several instances of these ephemeral titles occur in Indian history, and serve to confound the reader, who may not be aware of the practice.

into the Sutlooj, which stream bore the name of Soorswutty: that beyond the Soorswutty was a smaller stream called the Sulima. It was stated, that if a large mound, which intervened between these streams, were cut through, the water of the Soorswutty would fall into the small stream, from whence it would come to Soonam, passing through Surhind and Munsoorpoor, and that the stream would flow all the year round. The King, accordingly, moved in that direction, and ordered that 50,000 labourers should be collected and employed in cutting through that mound, and forming the junction. In this mound were found the bones of elephants and men. The bones of the human fore-arm measured three guz (five feet two inches): some of the bones were petrified, and some retained the appearance of bone. On this occasion, Surhind, which was originally under Samana, was separated, and the country, within ten coss (15 miles) of Samana, was formed into the separate district of Surhind. It was made over in charge to Zeea-ood-Deen and Shums-ood-Deen Ally Ruza. A fort was also built there, which was called Ferozepoor. *

From thence the King marched towards he

* The canal is now no longer in existence. The Soorswutty is called the Soorsa in our maps, and the Sulima has received the modern name of the Khanpoor Kee Nala, the Khanpoor Stream. The intentions of the Prince have been frustrated, and the labour of 50,000 men would have been expended in vain, had not the historian transmitted to us the curious fact of fossil elephants, or, perhaps, mastodons, being dug up nearly five centuries ago in the neighbourhood of the Himalaya mountains, 1200 miles distant from the sea.

mountains of Nagrakote, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. * The Raja of Nagrakote, after sustaining some loss, submitted, but was restored to his dominions. The name of Nagrakote was, on this occasion, changed to that of Mahomedabad, in honour of the late king. The people of Nagrakote told Feroze, that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagrakote was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them. The name by which it was then known was Jwalamooky.† In this temple was a fine library of Hindoo books, consisting of 1300 volumes. Feroze ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into prose in the Persian language, by Eiz-ood-Deen, Khalid Khany, and called it Dulayil Feroze Shahy. Some historians state, that Feroze, on this occasion, broke the idols of Nagrakote, and mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh, filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of bramins, who were then paraded through the camp. It is said, also, that he sent the image of Nowshaba to Mecca, to be thrown on the road, that it might be trodden under foot by the pilgrims, and that he also remitted the sum of 100,000 tunkas, to be distributed among the devotees and servants of the temple. ‡

* The Indians had, probably, never before seen snow fall.

† Effulgent Countenance.

‡ It is to be hoped, for the honour of this great and liberal Prince, that this story is the invention of some bigotted his-

After the conquest of Nagrakote, Feroze moved down the Indus towards Tutta, wherein Jam Bany, the son of Jam Afra, who had before been considered tributary to Dehly, had revolted, and fortified himself. The King's army invested the city; but provisions and forage becoming scarce, and the rains setting in with great violence, it was deemed advisable to raise the siege, and to march to Guzerat. The King spent this season in hunting, and after the rains, conferred the government of Guzerat upon Zuffur Khan, and returned to Tutta. Jam Bany, shortly after, submitted to Feroze, who carried him and his principal chiefs to Dehly, but after some time taking them into favour, he sent Jam Bany to resume his government.

A. H. 774. A. D. 1372. In the year 774, the Vizier, Mullik Mokbil, entitled Khan Jehan, died, and his son Joona Shah, succeeded to his office and titles.

A. H. 775. A. D. 1373. The following year was marked by the death of Zuffur Khan, governor of Guzerat, who was succeeded by his son Duria Khan.

A. H. 776. A. D. 1374. During the next year, the King was plunged into affliction by the death of his favourite son, Futteh Khan, a prince of great promise.

A. H. 778. A. D. 1376. In the year 778, the revenue of Guzerat being greatly deficient, the King was induced to listen to the proposal of Khwaja Shums-ood-Deen

torian, who has recorded it for the sake of adding to his glory, and that the facts, so contrary to the usual practice of his reign, never occurred.

Dumghany, who offered to give 100 elephants, 40 lacks of rupees, 400 Abyssinian slaves, and 40 Arabian horses every year, over and above the present payment, should he be appointed to that government. The King replied, that if the present viceroy, the successor of Zuffur Khan, consented to give the same, he should be continued in office; but this officer, not agreeing to the proposal, a new commission was granted to Shums-ood-Deen, who forthwith proceeded to Guzerat. Being unable, however, to fulfil his promise, he withheld the revenue, and rebelled; but the people, whom he had greatly oppressed, conspired against him, and, with the assistance of the Ameer Judeeda settled in the province, cut him off, and sent his head to Dehly. This is the only rebellion which occurred during the reign of Feroze. The government of Guzerat was now conferred upon Mullik Moofurra, entitled Furhut-ool-Moolk, and new governors were appointed to all the frontier provinces. Mullik Shums-ood-Deen Sooliman, the son of Mullik Murdan Dowlut, was nominated governor of Kurra, Mahoba, and its vicinity; Hissam-ool-Moolk to Oude, Sumbhul, and Korla; Mullik Behroze to Joonpoor and Zuffurabad. Nuseer-ool-Moolk, the youngest son of Mullik Murdan Dowlut, was made governor of Punjab, and the country as far as Kabul. In the year 779, a trifling insurrection occurred among the zemindars of Etawa; but it was soon crushed, and the insurgents brought to punishment, while forts were built to keep them in future subjection. In the year

A. H. 779.
A. D. 1377.

A. H. 781. A. D. 1379. 781, Feroze marched towards Sumana, Ambala, and Shahabad, as far as the foot of the mountains of Saharunpoor; and after levying tribute from the rajas of the Surmore hills, he returned to his capital.

About this time information was brought that Kurgoo, the zemindar of Kutehr, had invited Syud Mahomed, governor of Budaoon, with his brothers, Syud Alla-ood-Deen, and Syud Mahomed, to his house, and basely assassinated them. Enraged at this transaction, the King instantly marched and took severe vengeance on the associates and kindred of the zemindar, putting them to the sword, and levelling their houses with the ground. The murderer himself made his escape to the mountains of Camaoon, and was protected by the rajas of those parts. Feroze ordered a detachment of his army against them, and nearly 23,000 of those mountaineers were made prisoners and condemned to slavery. As he could gain no information of Kurgoo himself, the King appointed one Mullik Dawood, an Afghan, with a body of troops, to remain at Sumbhul, with orders to invade the country of Kutehr every year, and not to allow it to be inhabited until the murderer was given up. The King himself also, under pretence of hunting, marched annually in that direction to see that his orders were fulfilled, and for six years not an inhabitant was to be seen in that district, nor was the land cultivated.

A. H. 787. A. D. 1385. Age and infirmity began in the year 787 to make rapid ravages on the constitution of the King. The power of the Vizier,

Zuffur Khan Farsy (entitled Khan Jehan), became so absolute, that the King was guided by him in every thing, till at length that minister had the baseness falsely to accuse the Prince Mahomed Khan, the King's son, of a design against his father's life. Among others said to be concerned in the plot, was Zuffur Khan, the late governor of Guzerat, and then governor of Mahoba, as also Mullik Yakoot and Mullik Kumalood-Deen. The King gave credit to the accusation, and authorised the Vizier to secure the parties. Zuffur Khan was accordingly recalled from his government of Mahoba, and confined. The Prince Mahomed Khan, obtaining intelligence of the design against him, provided for his security, by fortifying his palace. In this situation he remained shut up for some days, and at last, having obtained leave for his wife to visit the King's ladies, he put on his armour, and getting into a closed palankeen, was himself carried into the seraglio. On being discovered, the women, alarmed, ran screaming into the King's apartment, telling him that the Prince had come in armour with treasonable designs. The Prince following them, presented himself to his father, and falling at his feet, told him, that the suspicions he had entertained of him were worse than death itself; that he came, therefore, to receive his fate from the King's own hands; but he first begged leave to inform him, that he was perfectly innocent of the charge which the Vizier had purposely contrived, in order to pave his own way to the throne.

Feroze, confiding in his son's veracity, clasped

him in his embrace, and, weeping, acknowledged he had been deceived, and authorised him to act as his judgment prompted against the traitor. On this the Prince, Mahomed Khan, leaving the presence, ordered out twelve thousand horse, and proceeded to surround the Vizier's house. On hearing of the Prince's approach, the Vizier put to death Zuffur Khan of Guzerat, one of the persons whom he had accused of treason, and collecting his own friends engaged the Prince in the streets. The traitor was wounded, fled first to his house, and thence escaped towards Mewat. The Prince, in the mean time, secured all the minister's wealth, and cut off his adherents.

Immediately after these transactions, Feroze resigned the reins of government into the hands of his son, and abdicated the throne. The Prince, assuming the name of Nasir-ood Deen Mahomed, ascended the throne in the month of Shaban, 789, and caused the Khootba to be read both in his own name as well as in that of his father. The first act of his government was to form a new administration, and to distribute honorary dresses among the chiefs. Mullik Yakoob Khan, the master of the horse, was nominated to the charge of the government of Guzerat, with the title of Sikundur Khan. On his route thither, Koka Chowhan, a Rajpoot zemindar of Mewat with whom Khan Jehan the Vizier had taken refuge, fearing the King's resentment, seized and delivered him up as a prisoner to Sikundur Khan, who cut off his head, and sent it to Dehly. Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed went with

Shaban, A. H. 789. August, A. D. 1387.

A. H. 790. A. D. 1388. his army, in the year 790, towards the mountains of Surmore, to hunt. While engaged in this diversion, advices were received that Furhut-ool-Moolk, governor of Guzerat, in conjunction with the Ameer Judeeda settled in that country, had risen in rebellion, and had defeated and slain Sikundur Khan, who had been lately appointed to succeed him. On this information, the Prince hastened to Dehly; but, as if infatuated, he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and seemed insensible of the loss he had sustained, and of the dangers in which his conduct had involved him. When the officers of his court attempted to rouse him from his lethargy, he dismissed them from his presence, and filled their places with parasites and flatterers. The nobles, seeing affairs in this state, availed themselves of the circumstance to unite with the Princes Bahaood-Deen and Kumal-ood-Deen, cousins of the Prince Mahomed, for the purpose of subverting his authority, and collected not less than 100,000 men. Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed employed Mullik Zuheer-ood-Deen Lahory to treat with the insurgents, whose camp was formed without the city. The mob, however, pelted him with stones, and obliged him to retire, after being much bruised and wounded. The Prince, seeing no hopes of an amicable result, roused himself, and advanced with his army against the conspirators. After a bloody battle, he drove them into the city, where they secured the palace, and renewed the contest. The city became now a horrid scene of slaughter. During the space of two days and nights, the

dead were left lying in the streets; where friends and foes, victors and vanquished, were jumbled together without distinction. On the third day the populace brought out the old King in his palankeen, and placed him down in the street, between the combatants. The Prince Mahomed's troops seeing their former master, and concluding that his appearance was voluntary, quitted the Prince, and crowded around the old King with shouts of joy. The Prince Mahomed thus deserted, fled with a small retinue to the mountains of Surmore. All parties now united, and tranquillity being restored, Feroze again resumed his full authority. But feeling himself unequal to the task, on account of his age, he once more resigned, and, at the instance of the household troops, placed his grandson Gheias-ood-Deen, the son of his eldest son, Futteh Khan, upon the throne. The troops, in the mean time, put to death Ameer Syud Hussun, the King's son-in-law, for supporting the fugitive Prince Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed, and the first orders issued by Gheias-ood-Deen after his accession were to kill all the adherents of his uncle Mahomed, wherever they might be found.

A. H. 790. A. D. 1388.

Rumzan 3. A. H. 790. Oct. 23. A. D. 1388. Feroze, having now arrived at the age of 90, died on the third of Rumzan, in the year 790.

Feroze Toghluk was a just and learned prince. His soldiers and his subjects were equally happy under his administration, nor did any one dare to exercise oppression in his time. He was himself the author of the Futtoohat Feroze Shahy. He was

the first of the Dehly kings who brought forward, by his patronage, the race of Afghans, before whose time they were not held in estimation. He reigned 38 years over Hindoostan, and the words وفات فیروز "Wufat Feroze," "The Death of Feroze," comprise the numerical letters of the date of his demise. Zeea-ood-Deen Burny, who lived at his court, has written the history of his reign in a work entitled Towareekh Feroze Shahy. Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy observes in his history, that Feroze introduced many excellent laws, which were current in his time. Among others, were the three following regulations: The first was the abolition of the practice of mutilating criminals, a mode of punishment which he would not allow to be inflicted on any of his subjects, either Mahomedan or Hindoo. The second regulation limited very much the demand on cultivators, by which he increased not only the population but eventually his revenue. The third was the encouragement he gave to learned men, whom he caused to reside in different parts of the empire, for the sake of imparting instruction to the people. He caused his regulations to be carved on the Musjid of Ferozabad, of which the following may be taken as a sample: "It has "been usual in former times to spill Mahomedan "blood on trivial occasions, and, for small crimes, "to mutilate and torture them, by cutting off the "hands and feet, and noses and ears, by putting "out eyes, by pulverising the bones of the living "criminal with mallets, by burning the body with "fire, by crucifixion, and by nailing the hands and "feet, by flaying alive, by the operation of ham-

" stringing, and by cutting human beings to pieces.
" God in his infinite goodness having been pleased
" to confer on me the power, has also inspired me
" with the disposition to put an end to these prac-
" tices. It is my resolution, moreover, to restore,
" in the daily prayers offered up for the royal
" family, the names of all those princes, my prede-
" cessors, who have reigned over the empire of
" Dehly, in hopes that these prayers, being ac-
" ceptable to God, may in some measure appease
" his wrath, and ensure his mercy towards them.
" It is also hereby proclaimed, that the small and
" vexatious taxes, under the denomination of Cot-
" wally, &c. payable to the public servants of
" government, as perquisites of offices, by small
" traders; that licences for the right of pasturage
" from shepherds, on waste lands belonging to the
" crown; fees from flower-sellers, fish-sellers, cotton-
" cleaners, silk-sellers, and cooks; and the precarious
" and fluctuating taxes on shopkeepers and vint-
" ners, shall henceforward cease throughout the
" realm; for it is better to relinquish this portion
" of the revenue than realise it at the expense of
" so much distress, occasioned by the discretionary
" power necessarily vested in tax-gatherers and
" officers of authority; nor will any tax here-
" after be levied contrary to the written law of
" the book. It has been customary to set aside
" one fifth of all property taken in war for the
" troops, and to reserve four fifths to the govern-
" ment. It is hereby ordered, that in future four
" fifths shall be distributed to the troops, and one
" fifth only reserved for the crown. I will on all

" occasions cause to be banished from the realm,
" persons convicted of the following crimes:
" Those who profess atheism, or who maintain
" schools of vice. All public servants convicted
" of corruption, as well as persons paying bribes.
" I have myself abstained from wearing gaudy silk
" apparel and jewels, as an example to my subjects.
" I have considered it my duty to repair every
" public edifice of utility, constructed by my pre-
" decessors, such as caravansaras, musjids, wells,
" reservoirs of water, aqueducts, canals, hospitals,
" alms-houses, and schools, and have alienated
" considerable portions of the revenue for their
" support. I have also taken pains to discover
" the surviving relations of all persons who suffered
" from the wrath of my late lord and master, Ma-
" homed Toghluk, and having pensioned and pro-
" vided for them, have caused them to grant their
" full pardon and forgiveness to that Prince, in the
" presence of the holy and learned men of this
" age, whose signatures and seals as witnesses are
" affixed to the documents; the whole of which, as
" far as lay in my power, have been procured, and
" put into a box, and deposited in the vault in
" which Mahomed Toghluk is entombed. I have
" gone and sought consolation from all the most
" learned and holy men within my realm, and have
" taken care of them. Whenever my soldiers have
" been rendered inefficient for service, by wounds,
" or by age, I have cause them to be pensioned on
" full pay for life. Two attempts have been made
" to poison me, but without effect."

The following are the public works constructed during the reign of this prince: —

50 Dams across rivers, to promote irrigation,
40 Mosques,
30 Colleges with mosques attached,
20 Palaces,
100 Caravansaras,
200 Towns,
30 Reservoirs or lakes for irrigating lands,
100 Hospitals,
5 Mausolea,
100 Public baths,
10 Monumental pillars,
10 Public wells,
150 bridges;

Besides numerous gardens and pleasure-houses. Lands were alienated, at the same time, for the maintenance of these public buildings, in order to keep them in thorough repair.

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK.

The King forms a new ministry — sends a force to attack the Prince Mahomed Khan. — The King's brother and cousins fly from Dehly, owing to apprehension of his jealousy and cruelty — they form an insurrection, and return with an army to the capital. — Death of some of the King's adherents. — The King's death.

Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk, the son of the Prince Futteh Khan, and grandson of Feroze, ascended the throne in the palace of Ferozabad, on the death of his grandfather; and, according to custom, directed the Khootba to be read, and the currency to be struck, in his own name. Mullik Feroze Ally, the son of Mullik Taj-ood-Deen, became vizier, and received the title of Khan Jehan, while one Gheias-ood-Deen received charge of the armoury; and Mullik Mofurra, with the title of Furhut-ool-Moolk, was confirmed in the office of governor of Guzerat. The King, soon after, sent an army under the Vizier and Mahomed Tahir, to expel his uncle, the Prince Mahomed, from Surmore. On the approach of the royal army this prince fled to the mountains, and there took possession of a strong post, and securing the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the royalists battle. He was, however, driven from one position to another, till he arrived at Na-

A. H. 790. A. D. 1388. grakote, and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong, his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, but left him in quiet possession, and returned to Dehly.

The King, meanwhile, giving loose to his youthful passions, and neglecting the affairs of state, vice, luxury, and oppression arose on every side. He confined, and treated with great cruelty, his own brother Salar, and his cousin Aboo Bukr, the son of Zuffur Khan, the third son of Feroze. These princes, having reason to dread his resentment, fled the court, and, in order to secure themselves, raised troops. The leaders of this revolt consisted of Mullik Rookn-ood-Deen, the Vizier's deputy, and several other chiefs of high rank, together with the household troops. When the plot was ripe for execution, the conspirators, rushing into the palace, assassinated Mullik Moobarik Kubeer, the Ameer-ool-Omra. Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk, thus surprised, fled with the Vizier by the Jumna gate. Mullik Rookn-ood-Deen pursued him; and the King and his minister being overtaken, were immediately put to death. This event happened on

Suffur 21. A. H. 791. Feb. 18. A. D. 1389. the 21st of Suffur, in the year 791. Thus ended the reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk, which continued only five months and a few days.

ABOO BUKR TOGHLUK.

Aboo Bukr, the son of the Prince Zuffur Khan, the third son of Feroze Toghluk, is raised to the throne. — The Ameer Judeeda, or Mogul officers, refuse to acknowledge Aboo Bukr — they rise on his minister, and slay him, and invite the exiled Prince, Mahomed Khan, to urge his pretensions to the throne. — Mahomed arrives — defeats the King, and ascends the throne a second time.

THE conspirators having assassinated the King, raised Aboo Bukr, the grandson of the late Feroze (third son of the Prince Zuffur Khan), to the throne. Mullik Rookn-ood-Deen was appointed vizier, and took the reins of government into his own hands; but his ambition prompted him to attempt to cut off the new King, and to usurp the throne. Aboo Bukr, having timely information of his intentions, ordered him and many of the household troops, who were concerned in the conspiracy, to be put to death.

Meanwhile, the Ameer Judeeda of Samana assassinated their leader, Mullik Sooltan, the firm friend of the King, and sent his head to the Prince Mahomed at Nagrakote, whom they earnestly solicited to come and assert his rights. The Prince Mahomed, accordingly, having collected forces, advanced by the route of Jalundur to Samana, proclaimed himself king, and proceeded

with an army towards Dehly. After some repulses, he in the end proved victorious, and made Aboo Bukr prisoner, on the 20th of Zeehuj, in the year 792, after a reign of one year and six months.

Zeehuj 20. A. H. 792. Nov. 27. A. D. 1389.

NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHOMED TOGHLUK II.

Events which preceded the King's accession. — Contests between the two Kings. — Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed occupies Dehly twice, but is expelled — succeeds the third time in driving out Aboo Bukr, who is eventually taken in battle, and confined for life. — Insurrection in Guzerat. — Furhut-ool-Moolk sent to quell it — proceeds thither, and proclaims himself king. — Islam Khan created minister — is accused by Khwaja Jehan of treason, and suffers death. — Khwaja Jehan created minister. — The King marches against Bahadur Nahir of Mewat. — Sheikha Gukkur takes Lahore. — The King's illness, and death — is succeeded by his son Hoomayoon, who dies after a short reign of 40 days.

NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHOMED TOGHLUK, first ascended the throne, in his father's lifetime, in the year 789, (A. D. 1387,) and we have seen how he was deposed and expelled by Baha-ood-Deen, and the other chiefs in confederacy with the Mogul officers of Guzerat and the household troops. We have also given a narrative of his transactions till he shut himself up in the fort of Nagrakote. The Ameer Judeeda having assassinated the late king's minister, Mullik Sooltan, who was also governor of Samana, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed, according to their invitation, marched from Nagrakote towards Dehly, where finding himself at the head of 20,000 horse, he advanced towards the capital, and on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year 792,

Rubbee-ool-Awul 5. A. H. 792. February 21. A. D. 1390.

entered it at the head of 50,000 men, and occupied the palace of Jehan Nooma. The Prince Aboo Bukr was then in the opposite quarter of the city, called Ferozabad, and prepared for battle. On the 2d of Jumad-ool-Awul, the two parties engaged in the streets of Ferozabad. At this time Bahadur Nahir of Mewat, with a strong reinforcement, arrived, and joining Aboo Bukr, he marched out of Ferozabad next morning, and drove Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed, with great slaughter, quite out of Dehly. The latter retreated with 2000 horse only, across the Jumna into the Dooab, and despatched his son Hoomayoon, and several omras, to Samana to recruit his army, himself remaining in the town of Jalesur, on the banks of the Ganges. Having experienced throughout these transactions that the household troops of Feroze were his worst enemies, Nasir-ood-Deen gave orders to plunder all their estates in the neighbouring country, and to slay them wherever they might be found; in consequence of which, the zemindars attacked and killed some thousands of those persons, who had possessions in other parts of the kingdom; and the very cultivators, disgusted with the government of Aboo Bukr, witheld their rents, and enlisted under the banners of his rival.

Jumad-ool-Awul 2. April 18.

In the mean time, Mullik Survur, the controller of the elephant stables, Mullik Nuseer-ool-Moolk, governor of Mooltan, Khowas-ool-Moolk, governor of Behar, as also Ray Survur and other rays (Hindoos), joined the Prince Mahomed with their forces, so that he collected, in a few days, another

army of 50,000 horse. In this state of affairs, he appointed Mullik Survur his vizier, with the appellation of Khwaja Jehan; Mullik Nuseer-ool-Moolk became Ameer-ool-Omra, under the title of Khowas Khan; and Ray Survur received the title of Ray Rayan, after which Mahomed advanced a second time towards Dehly. Aboo Bukr drew out his army at the village of Koondly; and the Prince Mahomed having sustained a second defeat, was compelled to retreat again to Jalesur in the Dooab.

A. H. 792.
A. D. 1389.

Hoomayoon, the son of the Prince Mahomed not many days after this event, appeared before Dehly, with the troops he had raised at Samana, and made an unsuccessful attempt on the capital, and being eventually overthrown at Paniput, fled to Samana. Notwithstanding these successes on the part of Aboo Bukr, he did not dare to quit the capital, being suspicious of a faction in the city in favour of his rival. Having at length punished some of the most disaffected, he ventured to march about 40 miles towards Jalesur, where his uncle Mahomed was again collecting an army. The latter, having by this time concerted secret measures with the kotwal of Dehly, and other officers in the city, left his army with all his baggage at Jalesur, and advanced with 4000 chosen horse towards Aboo Bukr, but, avoiding an action, the Prince Mahomed made a rapid movement to the left, and passing the enemy's line, pushed forward to the capital. He there engaged the troops who guarded the walls, and having set fire to the Budaoon gate, forced his way into the city.

When he had entered the palace, he was joyfully received by the citizens, who flocked to pay him their respects. Aboo Bukr closely pursued him, and arrived at Dehly on the same day, when forcing the guards which had been placed at the gates, he attacked the palace, expelled his rival, and recovered the town. The Prince Mahomed again fled to Jalesur, having lost the greater part of his army in this expedition.

Some time elapsed without any decisive action occurring, when Moobushir Hajib, commander of the household troops (known by the appellation of Islam Khan), revolted from Aboo Bukr, and wrote to the Prince, Mahomed Khan, promising that if he would make another attempt, he would support him with the greatest part of the household troops. Aboo Bukr, hearing that his rival was again in motion, and having also discovered the disaffection of the household troops and others in his army, left Dehly and fled, with a small retinue to Bahadur Nahir of Mewat. The Prince Mahomed in the month of Rumzan, entered Dehly, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed. He conferred the office of vizier on Islam Khan, to whom he owed his restoration. On finding himself firmly established, he ordered all the elephants which had been seized by the household troops of Feroze to be taken from them, and converted to his own use. Most of these troops, provoked at this circumstance, left the city that night, and hastened to join Aboo Bukr. On the following morning, Nasir-

Rumzan. A. H. 793. August. A. D. 1390.

ood-Deen Mahomed ordered those persons of the household guard, who still remained in the city, to quit it in three days on pain of death, and never to appear there again. Notwithstanding this decree, many of them, unwilling to leave their families, concealed themselves. A search was instituted, and such as were found were put to death. Many persons, taken up on suspicion, declared they were Indians, and not foreigners, of which the household troops consisted. The King directed, that all such as could not pronounce certain words, viz. Kuhřy, Kuhřy, or Gooŕa Gooŕy *, should be put to death; and it is said many foreigners having no connection with the household troops suffered on this occasion.

The new King, having recruited his army, deputed his son, Hoomayoon, with a considerable force to attack the ex-King, Aboo Bukr. This Prince, aided by Bahadur Nahir, attempted to surprise the Prince Hoomayoon's camp at Kotla; but Hoomayoon by his own exertions, and those of the Vizier, Islam Khan, drove Aboo Bukr, after the most strenuous efforts, from the field. The new King reached Mewat about this time; and Aboo Bukr being reduced to surrender, was sent prisoner to the fort of Meerut, where he died some years after.

* The aspirated *h*, and the *ř* pronounced as at Newcastle, and frequently at Paris, are peculiar, in the East, to the inhabitants of Hindoostan, and are not only difficult to be acquired by foreigners, if not children, but frequently altogether unattainable. This difficulty can hardly be understood but by those persons who have heard the sounds, and made the attempt to imitate them.

A.H. 793. A.D. 1390. On the King's return to Dehly, he received advices that Furhut-ool-Moolk, governor of Guzerat, had rebelled. Zuffur Khan *, the son of Wujee-ool-Moolk, was accordingly despatched with an army to suppress the insurrection; but for the details of this expedition the reader is referred to the History of Guzerat, which forms a part of this work.

A.H. 794. A.D. 1391. In the year 794, Nursing Bhan and Sirvodhun, chiefs of the Rahtore Rajpoots, and Bheer Bhan, chief of the Byse Rajpoots, having thrown off their allegiance, the Vizier, Islam Khan, marched with a considerable force against Nursing Bhan, the most powerful of them. He was defeated, made peace, and attended the conqueror to Dehly; and the other two chiefs submitted without a struggle. At this period, the zemindars of Etawa rose in arms, and ravaged Bilgiram and the adjacent districts. Nasir-ood-Deen marched against them in person, and having chastised them, levelled the fort of Etawa with the ground, after which, having proceeded by the route of Kunowj to Jalesur, he built a fort there, which he called Mahomedabad.

Advices were now received from Dehly, that the Vizier, Islam Khan, having made preparations to retire to Lahore and Mooltan, intended to create a revolt in those provinces. The King

* This officer, in the subsequent reign, established his independence in Guzerat, and, at the same time, the governors of Malwa and Kandeish following his example, their governments became, also, independent kingdoms, and remained so till the reign of Akbur.

hastened to the capital, and charged him with his treasonable designs. The Vizier was condemned to death on the evidence of his own nephew, Hajoo, a Hindoo, who swore falsely against him. * Khwaja Jehan, who was thought to have promoted the Vizier's fall, was advanced to his office, and Mullik Mookurrib-ool-Moolk, who makes a figure in the next reign, was at the same time appointed governor of Mahomedabad.

A.H. 795. A.D. 1392. In the year 795, Sirvodhun Rahtore, and Bheer Bhan Byse, appeared in arms, and Mookurrib-ool-Moolk was ordered to march with the troops, then at Mahomedabad, against them. The King, also in this year, marched to Mewat, to quell some disturbances in that place. On his return to Mahomedabad, being taken ill of a fever, he became occasionally delirious for some days. While in this feeble state of body news arrived, that Bahadur Nahir had plundered the country to the gates of Dehly: the King, though far from recovered, hastened to Mewat, attacked Bahadur Nahir at Kotla, and totally defeated him, and compelled him to fly to Jhirka. After this victory, he returned

Rubbee-oos-Sany, A.H. 796. February, A.D. 1394. to Mahomedabad, in the month of Rubbee-oos-Sany, of the year 796, and sent his son Hoomayoon to crush Sheikha Gukkur, who had rebelled and occu-

* The Vizier must have been a converted Hindoo. He is called Moobushir, and entitled Islam, both Mahomedan terms; but it is stated, his nephew, Hajoo, was a Hindoo, which is apparent from his name; and as the Hindoos do not receive converts, it is evident Islam Khan must have been born in that faith.

pied Lahore. But before the Prince left Dehly, news was brought of his father's decease; for the King having had a relapse of his fever, expired on the 17th of Rubbee-oos-Sany at Mahomedabad. He reigned about six years and seven months; and his body was deposited at Dehly, in the same vault with that of his father. Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed Toghluk was succeeded by his son Hoomayoon, who, on ascending the throne, assumed the name of Sikundur. He confirmed all his father's ministers in their offices; but being in a few days taken ill of a violent disorder, he was suddenly cut off, after a short reign of only 45 days.

Rubbee-oos-Sany 17. A.H. 796. February 19. A.D. 1394.

MAHMOOD TOGHLUK.

The minister, Khwaja Jehan, proceeds to Joonpoor, and establishes his independence. — Sarung Khan, viceroy of Mooltan, defeats the Gukkurs — recovers Lahore out of their hands, and becomes independent at Depalpoor. — His brother, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, creates a revolt in the capital. — The inhabitants take opposite sides. — Three parties in Dehly, each supporting a king. — Civil war in the capital for three years. — All the provinces become independent. — Invasion of India by Teimoor (or Tamerlane).

HOOMAYOON having yielded to the power of fate, violent disputes arose among the nobles regarding the succession. They at length fixed on Mahmood, a youth, the son of the late King, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed, whom they placed on the throne. Khwaja Jehan retained the office of vizier; Mookurrib-ool-Moolk, having received the title of Mookurrib Khan, became Vukeel-oos-Sultanut, and was created Ameer-ool-Omra; Sâdut Khan was appointed Barbik; Sarung Khan was made governor of Depalpoor, and Dowlut Khan was nominated to the office of chief secretary.

The apparent weakness of the government, arising out of the King's minority and the dissensions of the nobles, encouraged the surrounding chiefs to revolt. For instance, Khwaja Jehan, the minister, having assumed the title of Mullik-oos-Shurk, founded an

independent kingdom at Joonpoor*, and even forced the King of Bengal to pay him tribute. In the opposite direction, Sarung Khan, governor of Depalpoor, collected the troops of the province of Mooltan, and the north-west divisions of the state, and advanced against the Gukkurs, who waited for him at Ajoodhun, about 24 miles from Lahore. A battle ensued, and the Gukkurs being defeated, their chief, Sheikha, took refuge among the mountains of Jummoo. Sarung Khan, after this victory, left his younger brother, Adil Khan, in Lahore, and returned himself to Depalpoor, where he established his head-quarters. In this year, the King, leaving Dehly in charge of Mookurrib Khan, marched towards Gualiar and Byana, accompanied by Sâdut Khan Barbik, and many other chiefs. Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Gualiar, Moobarik Khan, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, the brother of Sarung Khan, and Mullik Alla-ood-Deen Dharwala, conspired against the life of Sâdut Khan, who having timely information of the plot, slew Moobarik Khan and Alla-ood-Deen, but Mulloo Yekbal Khan escaped to Dehly. Though this conspiracy was thus checked for the time, the contentions which arose in consequence obliged Sâdut Khan to return to the capital. On his approach, Mookurrib Khan, the Ameer-ool-omra, had prepared to come out to pay his respects; but learning that Sâdut Khan had sworn vengeance against him for

A H. 796.
A.D. 1394.

* This dynasty was called Shurkeea, in contradistinction to that of Bengal, whose capital was at Luknowty, and was called Poorbeea: the terms both signify eastern.

affording protection to Mulloo Yekbal Khan, he returned to the city, and shutting the gates, prepared to make a resolute defence. The city was now besieged for three months, till the King's party, convinced that the war not only originated, but was prosecuted solely on account of Sâdut Khan, accommodated matters with Mookurrib Khan, and in the month of Mohurrum 797 the King was admitted into Dehly.

Mohurrum, A. H. 797. October, A. D. 1394.

Mookurrib Khan, encouraged by this event, marched out the next day with all his force against Sâdut Khan, but was defeated with great loss. The rains having set in, and it being impossible for Sâdut Khan to keep the field, he struck his tents, and marched into Ferozabad. He then sent for Noosrut Khan, the son of the Prince Futteh Khan, the eldest son of the late Feroze Toghluk, from Mewat, and set him up in opposition to Mahmood Toghluk, under the title of Noosrut Shah. But a new faction breaking out in Mewat disconcerted his measures. The household troops of the late Feroze Toghluk had joined Sâdut Khan; but incensed at his conduct towards them, they prevailed on the keepers of the elephants to join them, and having seized the Prince Noosrut, placed him on an elephant, and advanced against Sâdut Khan, and expelled him from the city of Ferozabad. Being thus deserted by his followers, Sâdut Khan sought protection with Mookurrib Khan, by whom he was put to death.

The misfortunes of the state daily increased. The omras of Ferozabad, and

A. H. 797. A. D. 1394.

some of the provinces, espoused the cause of Noosrut Shah. Those of Dehly and other places supported the title of Mahmood Toghluk. The government fell into anarchy: civil war raged every where; and a scene was exhibited, unheard of before, of two kings in arms against each other residing in the same capital. Tartar Khan, the son of Zuffur Khan of Guzerat, and Fuzl-oolla Bulkhy, entitled Kootloogh Khan, joined the Prince Noosrut at Ferozabad. Mookurrib Khan and other chiefs espoused the cause of Mahmood Toghluk; while Bahâdur Nahir and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, with a strong body of troops, occupied the fort of Siry*, and remained neuter, but were prepared to join either party according to circumstances. Affairs remained in this state for three years, with astonishing equality; for if one monarch's party had at any time the superiority, the balance was soon restored by the neutral chiefs.

The warfare thus continued as if it were one battle between the two cities, wherein thousands were sometimes killed in a day, and the casualties occasioned by the slain were supplied by fresh reinforcements from different parts. Some of the governors of the provinces took little share in these civil dissensions, hoping to make advantage of them, by becoming independent in the end.

A. H. 798. A. D. 1395. In the year 798, Sarung Khan, the governor of Depalpoor, having some

* This appears to have been the name given to the citadel of Dehly.

differences with Khizr Khan, governor of Mooltan, made war against him. After several engagements with various success, victory declared for Sarung Khan, who, seizing on Mooltan, aggrandised his power, and in the following year advanced to the capital, and reduced Samana. Noosrut Shah directed Tartar Khan, then governor of Paniput, and Almas Beg, to oppose him. They engaged and defeated Sarung Khan, on the 1st of Mohurrum, 799, and compelled him to fly to Mooltan.

Mohurrum 1. A. H. 799. Oct. 4. A. D. 1396.

On his arrival in that city, intelligence reached him that the Prince Peer Mahomed Jehangeer, the grandson of Teimoor, having laid a bridge of boats over the Indus, had crossed, and invested Oocha. Sarung Khan instantly despatched his deputy, Mullik Taj-ood-Deen, and the greater portion of his troops, to reinforce Mullik Ally, the governor of Oocha. Mirza Peer Mahomed Jehangeer, hearing of this movement, advanced to the Beea, and falling on the Mooltanies by surprise, just as they crossed the river, defeated and drove them into the stream, so that more were drowned, perhaps, than fell by the sword. A few of the discomfited army only made good their retreat to Mooltan. Mirza Peer Mahomed Jehangeer pursued the fugitives, arrived about the same time with them, and obliged Sarung Khan to confine himself to the fort. After a siege of six months, he was reduced, from want of provisions, to surrender at discretion, and Mirza Peer

Mahomed took possession of Mooltan; but Sarung Khan, in a few days, found means to effect his escape.

In Dehly, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, having disagreed with Mookurrib Khan, abandoned the cause of Mahmood Toghluk, and sent a message to Noosrut Shah, offering to join his party. This proposal was readily accepted: the parties met, and went to the palace of Siry, where they swore mutual friendship on the Koran, at the tomb of Khwaja Kootb-ood-Deen Bukhtyar Kaky. A quarrel now took place between Mahmood Toghluk and Mookurrib Khan; and about three days after, another rupture occurred between Mulloo Yekbal Khan and Noosrut Shah, when the former, regardless of his oath, formed a conspiracy to seize the latter. Noosrut Shah, informed of the plot, thought it advisable to quit the palace of Siry, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, intercepting his followers in his retreat, took all his elephants, treasure, and baggage; while the unfortunate Prince, being in no condition to keep the field, fled to his vizier, Tartar Khan, at Paniput.

Mulloo Yekbal Khan, having obtained possession of Ferozabad, increased his power, and strove to expel the King, Mahmood, and his partisan Mookurrib Khan, from the old city. At length, by the mediation of some nobles, peace was concluded between the parties; but Mulloo Yekbal Khan, perfidious as he was, and regardless of the sacred oaths of the treaty, attacked Mookurrib Khan in his own house, and slew him. He also seized Mahmood

Toghluk, and deprived him of all but the name of King.

Mulloo Yekbal Khan now marched from Dehly, accompanied by the pageant King, Mahmood, against Noosrut Shah and Tartar Khan at Paniput. Tartar Khan, leaving his elephants and baggage in the fort, passed by him by forced marches, and avoiding his army, arrived before Dehly, and invested it. Mulloo Yekbal Khan, trusting to the strength of the force he left in the city, besieged Paniput, and carried it by escalade on the third day. He then hastened back to Dehly, whence Tartar Khan, having failed in his attempt, fled to his father Zuffur Khan, in Guzerat, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan entering the city, began to restore the government to some order. Meanwhile, to complete the miseries of this unhappy people, news arrived, that Teimoor Beg had crossed the Indus, with an intention to conquer Hindoostan.

INVASION OF TEIMOOR (OR TAMERLANE).

Teimoor crosses the Indus, and proceeds by Toolumba to Mooltan, where he is joined by his grandson, Peer Mahomed. — Proceeds to Bhutnere, which he reduces. — Marches by Paniput to Dehly. — Reconnoitres the city with a small division of troops — is attacked, but repulses the Indians. — The Indian captives, to the number of 100,000, *put to death by his order. — Battle of Dehly. — The Indians defeated, and their King, Mahmood Toghluk, flies. — Contribution laid on Dehly — causes resistance. — Massacre and sack of Dehly. — Teimoor retreats, after appointing Khizr Khan, an Indian chief, his deputy. — Noosrut Shah enters Dehly, and expels Mulloo Yekbal Khan.—Noosrut Shah subsequently expelled by Mulloo Yekbal Khan. — The territory of Dehly confined to a few villages. — Seven independent kingdoms established on the ruins of the Dehly monarchy. — Mahmood Toghluk returns to Dehly — retires on a pension. — Mulloo Yekbal Khan attacks Khizr Khan, Teimoor's deputy — is killed in battle. — Khizr Khan arrives at Dehly.*

Ameer Teimoor, informed of the commotions and civil wars of India, began his expedition into that country in the eight hundredth year of the Hijra, and on the 12th of Mohurrum, in the following year, arrived on the banks of the Indus. He crossed that river, and marched to the boundaries of Kole Julaly, so called since Julal-ood-Deen, King of Kabul, left Bungur, and resided at that kole (or fort). At this period, Ameer Teimoor despatched Sheik Noor-ood-Deen

Mohurrum 12. A. H. 801. Sept. 12. A. D. 1398.

to dispossess Shahab-ood-Deen Moobarik Khan, who, on the part of the King of Dehly, had advanced to the Behut, for the defence of the frontier districts. Noor-ood-Deen arrived within a few miles of Moobarik Khan, and required him to submit to his master. The latter occupied a strong post on the bank of the river, around which he had formed a fosse to insulate his position, and resolved to defend it. Noor-ood-Deen, however, found means, in the course of his approaches, to fill up the ditch, but suffered considerable loss from a sally made by the besieged during the night, which, in the end, he repulsed, and forced the assailants to take shelter within their walls. Teimoor, at this time, also advanced with his whole army, and Moobarik Khan, intimidated by his approach, privately embarked with his family and treasures in 200 boats prepared for the purpose, and proceeded down the river, being two days pursued in vain by Noor-ood-Deen, who was detached for that purpose. The Indian garrison, after the departure of their leader, surrendered at discretion.

Teimoor now marched along the river, to the conflux of the Chunab with the Ravy, where was situated the strong fort and town of Toolumba. He caused a bridge to be thrown across the river, by which his army might pass, and pitched his camp outside the town, which he laid under contribution. While the inhabitants were collecting the sum demanded, complaint was made to Teimoor of the scarcity of provisions in his camp, on which orders were issued to seize grain wherever it might

be found. The soldiers accordingly proceeded to search the town; but not being content with provisions, a general plunder ensued; and the inhabitants, in endeavouring to oppose the outrage, were massacred without mercy.

A. H. 801.
A. D. 1397.

To have besieged the fort of Toolumba would only have retarded the progress of Teimoor. He therefore marched, on the following day, to a town called Shahnowaz, where finding more grain than sufficient for his whole army, he caused what could not be carried away to be burnt. At this place, the brother of the chief of the Gukkurs, who had attempted to defend the place with 2000 men, lost his life. Teimoor proceeded on the third day from Shahnowaz, and crossing the Beea, entered a rich and plentiful country. The following is an account of the proceedings of the Prince Mirza Peer Mahomed Jehangeer. After having, as has been already mentioned, taken Mooltan, the rains came on, and destroyed so great a part of his cavalry in the field, that he was under the necessity of withdrawing his army into the city of Mooltan. There he was reduced to much distress by the inhabitants of the country, who closely invested the place, and withheld supplies, so that his cavalry, unable to act or to procure forage, diminished daily. Such was the situation of the Prince when his grandfather invaded India. Teimoor immediately reinforced Mirza Peer Mahomed Jehangeer with a detachment of 30,000 select horse, and soon after joined him with the rest of his army. The Prince complained bitterly of the

conduct of the governor of Bhutnere, who had been the chief source of his distresses. To punish him, Teimoor selected 10,000 of his best horse, and marched against him. When the Moguls reached Ajoodhun, Teimoor was shown the tomb of Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Shukr-Gunj; in respect to whose memory he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Dehly and Bhutnere.

Teimoor continued his route to Bhutnere, crossing the river at Ajoodhun, and encamped at Chaliskole, from which place, in one day, he marched with his cavalry, 50 coss * to Bhutnere. Upon his arrival, the people of Depalpoor and other adjacent places crowded into the town in such numbers, that half of them were driven out, and obliged to take shelter under the walls. They were there attacked on the day of Teimoor's arrival, and some thousands of them were slain. Row Khiljy †, the governor of the place, seeing the enemy so few in number, drew out the garrison, and formed without the town in order of battle. The Moguls, however, upon the first onset,

* The coss varies from one to four miles, but taking it at the smallest computation, the march is of extraordinary length. The Tartars, like the Cossacks, were all mounted.

† I have consulted several original works, and the translations made by D'Herbelot, Des Guignes, and Petit de la Croix, of the histories of Teimoor, but have been unable to satisfy myself of the true reading of this name. All my MSS. of Ferishta, who copied from Shureef-ood-Deen Ally (Teimoor's secretary), have something like Row Khiljy; and the translators above referred to, as well as Colonel Dow, have some name, which, if written in the Persian character, would read like it; but it is, probably, not correct.

drove them back, while Teimoor, in person, pressed so hard upon the rear of the fugitives, that he got possession of the gates, before they could be shut. He then drove the enemy from street to street, and thus became, in a few hours, master of the whole of the town, except the citadel; to reduce which, he ordered it to be undermined.

The garrison now proposed to capitulate; and the governor having had an interview with Teimoor, presented him with 300 Arabian horses, and with many of the curiosities of Hindoostan. Teimoor, in return, presented him with a dress of honour, and sent Sooliman Shah and Ameer Alla-dad to take possession of the gates, commanding them to slay all those who had taken refuge in the place, and who had been before active against his grandson, Mirza Peer Mahomed. The rest, of the prisoners after being plundered, were ordered to be dismissed. In consequence of this order, 500 persons, in a few minutes, were put to death by the Moguls. Both the Mahomedans and Hindoos, who remained within the fort, struck with horror, and dreading a similar fate, set fire to the place in despair, killed their wives and children, and sought nothing but revenge and death. The scene was awful; and the unfortunate inhabitants, in the end, were cut off to a man, though not before some thousands of the Moguls had fallen by their hands. This conduct so much exasperated Teimoor (the firebrand of the universe), that he caused every soul in Bhutnere to be massacred, and the city to be reduced to ashes.

Teimoor then marched to Soorsutty, and put

the inhabitants of that place also to the sword, giving the town up to pillage. Advancing to Futtehabad, he continued his ravages through that district, and the adjacent towns of Rajpoor, Ahroony, and Toohana. From thence he detached Hukeem Eraky towards Sumana, with 5000 horse, while he himself scoured the country, and cut off a body of Juts, who had lived for some years by plunder. His army, in the mean time, being now divided under different chiefs, carried fire and sword through the provinces of Mooltan and Lahore; but when they advanced near the capital, he ordered a general rendezvous at Keithul, within 10 miles of Sumana.

Here Teimoor joined his army, and having regulated the order of his march, advanced towards Dehly. When he reached Paniput, he directed his soldiers to put on their armour; and that he might be the better supplied with forage, crossed the Jumna, into the Dooab, and took the fort of Lony by assault, putting the garrison to the sword. The Mogul army continued its route along the river, and encamped opposite to the city of Dehly, posting guards at the fords leading into the Dooab from the capital. Teimoor then detached Sooliman Khan and Jehan Khan to scour the country to the south and south-east of the city, whilst he himself, on the day of his arrival, with 700 horse only, crossed the river to reconnoitre Dehly. The King of Dehly, and his minister, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, seeing so few troops in the retinue of Teimoor, sallied out with 5000 horse

and foot, and 27 elephants. A skirmish took place, in which the Dehly troops were repulsed; and Mahmood Seif Beg, a Dehly officer of rank who led the attack, was taken prisoner. Teimoor ordered him to be instantly beheaded; and after having made the observations which he wished, repassed the river, and joined his army. On the next morning, he moved his position more to the eastward. On this occasion it was reported to him, that there were above 100,000 prisoners in his camp, who had been taken since he crossed the Indus; that they had on the day before expressed great joy when they saw him attacked, which rendered it extremely probable, that on a day of battle they would join their countrymen against him. Teimoor having ascertained that most of them were idolaters, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the sword; so that upon that day nearly 100,000 men were massacred in cold blood.

A. H. 801. A. D. 1398.

Jumad-ool-awul 5. Jan. 13. On the 5th of Jumad-ool-awul, Teimoor forded the river without opposition, and encamped on the plain of Ferozabad, one of the suburbs of Dehly, where he entrenched himself. He caused numbers of buffaloes to be picketed in the ditch, with their heads fronting the enemy, placing, at the same time, strong parties of troops at proper distances behind them.

Jumad-ool-awul 7. Jan. 15. Though the astrologers pronounced the seventh an unlucky day, Teimoor marched out of his lines, and drew up

his army in order of battle. Mahmood Toghluk, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, with the Dehly troops, and 120 elephants, covered with armour, marched forth to oppose the Moguls. But at the first charge, most of the elephants' drivers were dismounted; and these unwieldy animals, deprived of their guides, fled to the rear, and communicated confusion to their own ranks. The veteran troops of Teimoor, who had already conquered half the world, availed themselves of this advantage, and the Indians were, in a short time, totally routed, without making one brave effort to save their country, their lives, or their property. The conqueror pursued them with great slaughter to the very gates of Dehly, near to which he fixed his head quarters. The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, Mahmood Toghluk and his minister deserted the capital during the night, the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Birun. Teimoor, gaining intelligence of their escape, detached parties after them; one of which came up with Mulloo Yekbal Khan, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, (Seif-ood-Deen and Khoodadad) prisoners. Teimoor received the submission of all the chief men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection, on condition of paying a contribution. On the Friday following, Teimoor caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor, and the usual titles to be read in his name in all the mosques.

Jumad-ool-awul 16. A.H. 801. Jan. 14. A.D. 1398. On the 16th of the same month, having placed guards at the gates, he appointed the chiefs and magistrates of the city to regulate the contribution, according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was in the mean time brought that several nobles, and some rich merchants, had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay their share of the ransom. This induced Teimoor to send troops into the city, at the instance of the magistrates, to enforce their authority; a step eventually productive of the most fatal consequences. The arrival of the Mogul soldiers created confusion; plundering ensued, which could not be restrained by the officers, and they durst not acquaint Teimoor with the state of affairs.

Teimoor, according to his custom after success, was then busy in his camp celebrating a grand festival on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of the proceedings in the town. The first intimation he obtained was from the city being in flames; for the Hindoos, according to custom, seeing their females disgraced, and their wealth seized by the soldiery, shut the gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and rushed out on their enemies. This led to a general massacre, some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead; and the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army gained admittance, and a scene of horror

ensued easier to be imagined than described. The desperate courage of the Dehlyans was at length cooled in their own blood, and throwing down their weapons, they at last submitted themselves like sheep to slaughter; in some instances, permitting one man to drive a hundred of them, prisoners, before him. The city yielded an enormous booty. The historians have gone into some details of the amount of the silver, the gold, and the jewels, captured on this occasion, particularly rubies and diamonds; but their account so far exceeds all belief, that I have refrained from mentioning it. Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud, however, relates these circumstances differently in his history. He states, that the persons appointed to realise the contribution on the part of Teimoor having used great violence, by torture and other means, to obtain money, the citizens rose and killed some of the Moguls. This being reported to Teimoor, he ordered a general pillage. This is the first instance on record of the Moguls having plundered Dehly.

Teimoor now entered the city, and seized for himself 120 elephants, 12 rhinoceroses, and a number of curious animals that had been collected by Feroze Toghluk. The fine mosque built by that Prince, on the stones of which he had inscribed the history of his reign, was so much admired by Teimoor, that he carried the same architects and masons from Dehly to Samarkand to build one on a similar plan. After having halted 15 days at Dehly, Teimoor commenced his retreat, to

his own country, and marched out to Ferozabad, whither Bahâdur Nahir of Mewat sent him two white parrots as curiosities, with professions of submission. Teimoor sent Syud Shums-ood-Deen Toormoozy to invite him to the presence; and Khizr Khan, who had been concealed in the hills of Mewat, also came with him, and was graciously received.

From Ferozabad, Teimoor marched to Paniput, from whence he detached Ameer Shah Mullik to besiege Meerut, a strong fort, situated about 60 miles from Dehly. When Ameer Shah Mullik had reconnoitred its strength, and found the garrison determined to defend it, he reported its condition; and he, moreover, stated, that the garrison had reproached him from the walls, by saying he could succeed no better than Toormooshreen Khan, the Mogul general who had formerly failed in an attempt to take the place. Teimoor immediately marched in person against Meerut, and without delay began to construct mines, and carry on his approaches under ground, advancing at the rate of 15 yards every 24 hours. Khwaja Elias Ajoodhuny, the son of Mowlana Ahmud Tahnesury, and Mullik Suffy Kubeer, defended the place with great resolution; but the Moguls, having filled up the ditch, placed their scaling-ladders and fastened their hook-ropes to the wall, in spite of all opposition, and without waiting for a breach by means of the mines stormed the place, and put every soul to the sword.

The mines, however, being finished, the King ordered them to be fired, and the walls were thrown down. *

Teimoor continued his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewalik, marking his way with fire and sword. He then crossed the Ganges, and subdued the country as far as where the river issues from the mountains. On his return from thence, he repassed the river and marched through the hills, where he was opposed by an Indian zemindar, whom he defeated and plundered. He then continued his route, taking several small forts on his way till he arrived at Jummoogur, the raja of which place being wounded and taken prisoner, was compelled to embrace the faith. Jusrut, the brother of Sheikha Gukkur, who had fled after being defeated by Teimoor, had been reproved by his brother for opposing the Mòguls, which being represented to Teimoor, Sheikha was admitted to his presence, and became a favourite. But when Teimoor marched on to Dehly, Sheikha took advantage of his absence, and got possession of Lahore, and when the King reached Jummoo, he refused to submit to his authority. Ameer

* Teimoor made use of mines in several sieges, also, in Asia Minor: they were constructed according to the usual mode of the ancients. Galleries were carried under the part of the wall to be breached, which was supported by wooden frames, while the excavation was in progress; when, after having formed a sufficiently large cavity, the wooden frames were set on fire, and being no longer capable of supporting the wall, it fell in, and caused the breach.

A. H. 801. A. D. 1397. Teimoor accordingly detached part of his army to besiege Lahore, which was taken in a few days. Sheikha was brought prisoner to the King, who ordered him to be instantly beheaded. While at Jummoo, Teimoor appointed Khizr Khan viceroy of Mooltan, Lahore, and Depalpoor, and returned to Samarkand by the route of Kabul.

The city of Dehly remained in a state of anarchy for the space of two months after the departure of Teimoor, during which time famine and pestilence prevailed. It was then taken possession of by the Prince Noosrut Shah with only 2000 horse from Meerut, where he was joined by Adil Khan with his own troops and four elephants. Shahab-Khan and Mullik Almas from Mewat, with their troops and 10 elephants, joined him soon after. Noosrut Shah now sent Shahab-Khan, with his troops, towards Birun, against Mulloo Yekbal-Khan, who had taken up his residence in that town; but Shahab-Khan, being attacked in the night, on his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Mulloo Yekbal Khan, was slain, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, following up his advantage, took all the baggage of Shahab Khan's army. This success raising the reputation of Mulloo Yekbal Khan, in a few days he thought himself in a condition to make an attempt on the capital. At his approach, Noosrut Shah retired to Meerut; and Mulloo Yekbal Khan resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had fled, now began to return to their homes; and Dehly, in a short time, put on

the appearance of populousness, especially that quarter called the New City.

Mulloo Yekbal Khan, soon after, obtained possession of the country between the two rivers; which, with a small district round the city, was all that remained dependent on the capital. The governors of provinces no longer acknowledged allegiance to the throne, having established their independence during the late civil war. Guzerat was held by Moozuffur Khan; Malwa by Dilawur Khan; Kunowj, Oude, Kurra, and Joonpoor, by Khwaja Jehan, commonly called Shah Shurk; Lahore, Depalpoor, and Mooltan, by Khizr Khan; Samana by Ghalib Khan; Byana by Shums Khan Ahdy; Kalpy and Mahoba by Mahomed Khan, the son of Mullikzada Feroze; all of whom styled themselves Kings.

Jumad-ool-Awul A. H. 803. December, A. D. 1400.

In the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, 803, Mulloo Yekbal Khan marched with an army from Dehly towards Byana, defeated Shums Khan, and was joined by his troops. He then proceeded to Kutehr, and after having levied contributions in the territory of Nursing Ray, he returned to Dehly. Intelligence was there brought him of the death of Khwaja Jehan, at Joonpoor, and also that his adopted son, Mullik Wasil, had assumed the title of Moobarik Shah, and had succeeded to the government. Mulloo Yekbal Khan having become reconciled to Shums Khan, governor of Byana, and having gained over Moobarik, the son of Bahâdur Nahir Méwatty, to his interest,

marched the same year, in conjunction with these chiefs, against Mullik Wasil. When he reached the village of Puttyaly, on the Ganges, the Ray of Serinugur, (the ancient name for Bilgaram, which was at that time a principality,) together with the zemindars of that tract, opposed him, but were defeated with great slaughter. After this victory, Mulloo Yekbal Khan marched to Kunowj, intending to proceed to Joonpoor and Luknowty. On his route, however, he was opposed by Mullik Wasil, in his attempt to cross the Ganges, with such vigour, that, after repeated efforts for two months, he was forced to abandon the undertaking, and to return to Dehly. During this campaign, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, entertaining suspicions of Shums Khan and Moobarik Khan, assassinated them both on their way back to their own governments.

A. H. 804. A. D. 1401. In the year 804, the ex-King, Mahmood Toghluk, offended with the behaviour of Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, to whose court he had retired, left him and went to Malwa. Soon after, by the invitation of Mulloo Yekbal Khan, he returned to Dehly, where he was content to receive a pension, fearing that any interference on his part, in the affairs of the government might prove fatal to him. Advices were now received of the death of Mullik Wasil, who styled himself Moobarik Shah, Shurky of Joonpoor. Yekbal Khan, accordingly, accompanied by the King Mahmood, marched towards Kunowj, where Ibrahim Shah Shurky, brother of Moobarik Shah,

who had succeeded to the throne, advanced with the troops of Joonpoor to oppose him.

While the armies were encamped near each other, Mahmood Toghluk, dissatisfied with his situation, and imagining that Ibrahim Shah would acknowledge him King, and abdicate the throne of the Shurky provinces in his favour, left the camp while on a hunting excursion, and repaired to the army of Ibrahim Shah. When that Prince discovered the expectations of his guest, he even withheld from him the necessaries of life, and intimated to him to quit the camp. Mahmood returned in great distress to Kunowj, and was left by Mulloo Yekbal Khan in the government of that city, having previously expelled the governor, who occupied it on the part of Ibrahim Shah. Ibrahim Shah Shurky did not resent this insult, but permitted Mahmood Toghluk to occupy Kunowj, and himself returned to Joonpoor, while Mulloo Yekbal Khan retreated to Dehly.

A.H. 805. A.D. 1402. In the year 805, Mulloo Yekbal Khan marched against Gualiar, which had fallen into the hands of Nursing Ray during the invasion of Teimoor, and which had lately on Nursing Ray's death descended to his son, Brahma Dew. The fort being strong, he found he could effect nothing against it at that time, except plundering the districts around. He accordingly returned to Dehly, from whence, however, he again came back with a view of reducing the place. Brahma Dew sallied out of the garrison, and made an unsuccessful attack on Mulloo Yekbal Khan;

but the latter was eventually obliged to raise the siege, and content himself with devastating the country, and returned to Dehly.

A. H. 807. A. D. 1404. In the year 807, Mulloo Yekbal Khan marched the army to Etawa, where the Rajas of Serinugur, Gualiar, and Jalwur had formed a confederacy, and united their forces. They were attacked and defeated by Yekbal Khan, who consented to their retreat being unmolested, only on condition of their paying a large sum into his coffers. After this victory, in violation of every tie of gratitude, and of common justice, he marched against the King, Mahmood Toghluk, then residing at Kunowj. Mahmood shut himself up in the city; and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, unable to reduce it, raised the siege, and marched towards Samana, in the month of Mohurrum, 808. Beiram Khan, a descendant of one of the Toorky slaves of Feroze Toghluk, had long occupied Samana. On the approach of Mulloo Yekbal Khan, he fled to the hills, closely pursued by his enemy. On this occasion, Syud Alum-ood-Deen, grandson of the famous Syud Julal Bokhary, came to mediate between the contending parties. He succeeded in reconciling them; after which they united their forces, and marched towards Mooltan, against Khizr Khan. At Toolumba, they were opposed by Ray Dawood *, Kumal Khan Mye, and Ray Hubboo,

Mohurrum, A. H. 808. June, A. D. 1405.

* I am unable to discover how this admixture of Hindoo and Mahomedan names comes to take place.

the son of Ray Rutty, chiefs in the northern provinces, who were defeated, and taken prisoners. On arriving near Ajoodhun, Khizr Khan opposed Mulloo Yekbal Khan, with the troops of Mooltan, Punjab, and Depalpoor; and on the 19th of Jumad-ool-Awul the two armies engaged, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan was slain.

Jumad-ool-Awul 19. A. H. 808. Nov. 18. A. D. 1405.

When Dowlut Khan Lody, and Yekhtyar Khan, who commanded in Dehly, were informed of this event, they invited Mahmood Toghluk, from Kunowj, who came with a small retinue and reascended the throne. He laid aside any further efforts to reduce Mooltan, and sent Dowlut Khan Lody, with an army against Beiram Khan of Samana. The King himself returned, in the mean time, to Kunowj; but Ibrahim Shah Shurky marched to recover that place, and after some skirmishes, compelled Mahmood to retreat to Dehly. Mahmood Toghluk's imbecile conduct lost him the affections of his troops, and they accordingly, with one consent, dispersed. Ibrahim Shah Shurky, on receiving intelligence of this circumstance, crossed the Ganges, and marched towards Dehly with great expedition. When he reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard that Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat had defeated and taken prisoner Alp Khan, commonly called Sooltan Hooshung, and having occupied the country of Malwa, was then on his march towards Joonpoor. In consequence of this intelligence, Ibrahim Shah Shurky was induced to retreat to secure his own capital.

Rujub, A. H. 810. Dec. A. D. 1407. In the month of Rujub, 810, Dowlut Khan Lody and Beiram Khan engaged each other near Samana. Beiram Khan was defeated, and surrendered himself to Dowlut Khan Lody; but nearly at the same time that part of the country fell into the hands of Khizr Khan.

Zeekada, A. H. 810. April, A. D. 1408. In the month of Zeekada, of the same year, Mahmood Toghluk marched against Mullik Meer Zeea, who, on the part of Ibrahim Shah Shurky, was governor of Birun. Mullik Meer Zeea opposed him without the walls, but was defeated, and compelled to retire within the works. The King's troops followed the fugitives so closely, that they entered the place together, and Mullik Meer Zeea fell in the assault. From Birun the King marched to Sumbhul; but Tartar Khan fled at his approach, and went to Kunowj. The King, leaving Assud Khan Lody at Sumbhul, returned to Dehly. In the year 811, Mahmood Toghluk marched against Kowam Khan, who occupied Hissar Feroza, on the part of Khizr Khan. The King, after levying contributions, returned; but Khizr Khan, on hearing what had occurred, marched, by the route of Rohtuk, against Dehly. Mahmood, deficient both in sense and courage, allowed himself to be patiently besieged in that part of the city known by the name of Ferozabad. Khizr Khan, however, being in want of forage and grain, was soon obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Futtehpoor, but in the be-

A. H. 811. A. D. 1408.

ginning of the year 814 he returned by
A. H. 814. A. D. 1411. the route of Rohtuk to Futtehpoor. This place was then in possession of two of Mahmood Toghluk's officers, Mullik Idrees and Moobariz Khan, who declined hostilities, and submitted. Khizr Khan, having plundered the town of Narnoul, again advanced to Dehly. On this occasion, Mahmood shut himself up in the old citadel of Siry, to which Khizr Khan laid siege. Yekhtyar Khan, who commanded in Ferozabad, seeing the desperate condition of the King's affairs, joined Khizr Khan, and admitted him into the fort. Having united their troops, they occupied all the Dehly possessions in the Dooab, and prevented supplies from reaching the capital. A great draught had occasioned, at this time, a scarcity of grain and forage, both in the Dooab and in the vicinity of Dehly, insomuch that Khizr Khan was a second time forced to raise the siege, and retire to Futtehpoor. Mahmood Toghluk, being delivered from this imminent danger, took the diversion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Kyetuhl; where he
Zeekada, A. H. 814. February, A. D. 1412. contracted a fever, and died in the month of Zeekada. With him fell the kingdom of Dehly from the race of Toorks, the adopted slaves of the Emperor Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory, who were of the second dynasty of the Mahomedan princes of India.

The disastrous and inglorious reign of Mahmood Toghluk continued, from first to last, 20 years and two months.

The nobles, soon after his death, elected, in his

stead, Dowlut Khan Lody, an Afghan by birth, originally a private secretary, who, after passing through various offices, was raised by Mahmood Toghluk, and attained the title of Azeez-i-Moomalik. Dowlut Khan Lody ascended the throne in the month of Mohurrum, 816, and began his reign, as usual, by striking the currency in his own name.

Mohurrum, A. H. 815. April, A. D. 1412.

Two chiefs of power and reputation, Mullik Idrees and Moobariz Khan, who had been in the interest of Khizr Khan, abandoned that chief, and joined Dowlut Khan Lody. A few days after his accession, he marched towards Kutehr; and was met by Nursing Ray, and other zemindars of those districts, who acknowledged his title. On his arrival at the town of Bisowly, Mohabut Khan of Budaoon also came to meet him, and pay him obedience. Advices at this time arrived, that Ibrahim Shah Shurky was besieging Kalpy, then held by Kadur Khan, the son of Mahomed Khan; but as Dowlut Khan Lody had not sufficient force to march to his relief, he returned to Dehly to recruit his army. Meanwhile Khizr Khan, who had been preparing to invade the capital, advanced in the month of Zeehuj, with 60,000 horse, and a third time invested the citadel of Siry, to which Dowlut Khan had retired. After a siege of four months, Khizr Khan obliged Dowlut Khan Lody, on the 15th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year 817, to surrender. He was instantly confined in Hissar Feroza, where he died, after a nominal reign of one year and three months.

Zeehuj, A. H. 816. March, A. D. 1414.

Rubbee-ool-Awul 15. A. H. 817. June 4. A. D. 1416.

SYUD KHIZR KHAN:

His origin — assumes the reins of government, but disclaims the title of king — forms a new ministry — causes the Khootba, or public prayers, to be read, and coins to be struck in the name of Teimoor — endeavours to re-establish the authority of the Dehly state — recovers great part of the Dooab. — The governor of Surhind assassinated, and one Mullik Toghan Toork becomes master of the place — is expelled by the minister, Zeeruk Khan. — Khizr Khan proceeds by the route of Byana to Gualiar. — Mullik Toghan returns to attack Surhind — is repulsed, and flies — is overtaken, and compelled to pay a fine. — Toghan is permitted to retain possession of Jalendur. — Khizr Khan sends an army against Kutehr. — An impostor, assuming the name of Sarung Khan, the late brother of Yekbal Khan, collects forces at Machiwara — is defeated — joins Mullik Toghan, who espouses his cause. — On discovering that he has wealth, Mullik Toghan puts him to death. — Mullik Toghan ravages Surhind, but is defeated, and expelled the kingdom. — Khizr Khan taken ill — dies — his character. — Tokens of the people's regard.

BOTH the authors of the Tubkat Mahmood Shahy and of the Towareekh Moobarik Shahy trace the family of Khizr Khan to that of the prophet, and they accordingly style him Syud. His father, Mullik Sooliman, a person of respectability, was the adopted son of Mullik Murdan Dowlut, a noble of distinction, and governor of the province of Mooltan, in the reign of Feroze Toghluk. Mullik Murdan Dowlut, at his death, was succeeded in his government by

A. H. 817.
A. D. 1414.

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FOURTH DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY,

ENTITLED SADAT.

1

Syud Khizr Khan.

2

Syud Moobarik.

3

Syud Mahomed.

4

Syud Alla-ood-Deen.

his own son, Mullik Sheikh, and on his death, Mullik Sooliman, who professed to be a Syud, was appointed viceroy of Mooltan, an office which descended to his son, Khizr Khan. When Khizr Khan was defeated, as we have already observed, by Sarung Khan, and driven from his country, he waited on Teimoor, after the conquest of Dehly, gained his favour, and was reinstated in his former government, to which Teimoor added Punjab and Depalpoor. This accession of power enabled him, eventually, to pave his way to the throne.

As the author of the Towareekh Moobarik Shahy has produced two distinct and (what he calls) strong proofs of Khizr Khan being really a descendant of the Prophet, it seems proper here to notice them, in order that his pretensions to that honour may be examined. The first reason given is, "that on one occasion, when Khizr Khan's father, Mullik Sooliman, brought an ewer and basin, "in common with the other servants of Mullik "Murdan Dowlut, at a feast given by him to Syud "Julal Bokhary, the latter, on perceiving it, said "to his host, 'Why do you employ this fine Syud "youth in so humble an office?' Such an observation from the mouth of that venerable, holy man "(says the author) ought to satisfy us that the "youth was really a Syud." The second proof adduced is, "that Khizr Khan possessed the "qualities of charity, courage, mercy, benevolence, "virtue, abstinence, truth, and kindness, in a degree which rendered him like the Prophet himself." These are the evidences which the author of the Towareekh Moobarik Shahy has produced

to prove the noble origin of Khizr Khan. Suffice it for us to know, that after his accession, Khizr Khan conferred honours upon Mullik Tohfa, entitled Taj-ool-Moolk, and made him vizier, and conferred dignities on Abd-ool-Raheem, the adopted son of his father, Mullik Sooliman. He also gave him the government of Futtehpoor and Mooltan, together with the title of Mullik Alla-ool-Moolk. But while he distributed his favours among his own officers, he refrained from assuming royal titles, and gave out that he held the government for Teimoor, in whose name he caused the coin to be struck, and the Khootba to be read. After the death of Teimoor, the Khootba was read in the name of his successor, Shahrokh Mirza; to whom he sometimes even sent tribute at his capital of Samarkand.*

In the first year of his government, Khizr Khan deputed Mullik Tohfa with an army towards Kuttehr, which place he reduced. Nursing Ray was driven to the mountains; but upon paying a ransom, was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut Khan, governor of Budaoon, at the same time came to meet Mullik Tohfa, and professed allegiance. The Vizier now marched towards Gunpoor, Kampilla, and Chundwar, to levy the revenue which had been due for some years; and after recovering Jalesur out of the hands of the

* It is not difficult to imagine the causes which induced Khizr Khan to refrain from calling himself king. By this measure, he disarmed the jealousy which the nobles of the late regal government would have felt towards him, and which might have prevented them from submitting to his authority.

Rajpoots of Chundwar, he marched to Etawa, and having reduced it, returned to Dehly.

Jumad-ool-Awul, A. H. 817. July, A. D. 1414. In the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, of the year 817, a band of Toorks, the adherents of Beiram Khan, assassinated Mullik Ladho, governor of Surhind, and took possession of his country, Khizr Khan sent Zeeruk Khan and Mullik Dawood with an army against them. On their approach, the Toorks crossed the Sutlooj, and retreated to the hills. Zeeruk Khan pursued them; but as the mountains, which are a continuation of those of Nagrakote, were then in possession of independent zemindars, who assisted the Toorks, he effected nothing against them, and in the end was obliged to withdraw his troops.

A. H. 819. A. D. 1416. In the year 819, Ahmud Shah, King of Guzerat, advanced to Bagore. Khizr Khan led an army to oppose him; and the King of Guzerat withdrew in the direction of Malwa. When Khizr Khan reached Jalwur*, Elias Khan, governor of the new city, (to which the name of "Bride of the Universe," had been given by Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy, who built it,) came out to meet him. Khizr Khan proceeded from thence to Gualiar, where he levied tribute from the Raja, and then proceeded to Dehly by the route of Byana, where he exacted, as a fee, a considerable sum from Kurreem-ool-Moolk, brother of the late Shums Khan Ahdy, to whose estates he had lately succeeded.

* I have some doubt as to the true name: it is differently written in my various MSS.

A. H. 820. A. D. 1417. In the year 820, Mullik Toghan, chief of those Toorks who had assassinated Mullik Ladho, besieged Surhind with a considerable army. Zeeruk Khan, governor of Samana, being again ordered against him, Toghan retreated to the hills; but Zeeruk Khan overtook him at the village of Pail, compelled him to pay a heavy fine, and to give up his son as a hostage for his future conduct, as well as to expel the murderers of Mullik Ladho from his camp. After these arrangements, Mullik Toghan was allowed to retain possession of Jalendur; and Zeeruk Khan having returned to Samana, sent both the hostage and the amount realised from Mullik Toghan to the presence.

A. H. 821. A. D. 1418. In the year 821, Khizr Khan having sent his minister against Nursing Ray, the Raja of Kutehr, he plundered and laid waste that district, and proceeding to Budaoon, crossed the river at Etawa, on which place he imposed a contribution, and returned to Dehly. Khizr Khan subsequently marched in person to Kutehr, and on his route he attacked and defeated a formidable band of plunderers at Kole; he then crossed the Ganges, and having laid waste the country of Sumbhul and Kutehr, returned to his capital. After remaining at Dehly only a few days, he moved towards Budaoon. Mohabut Khan, governor of Budaoon, alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in the fort, to which the King laid siege for six months. In the course of the operations, Khizr Khan discovered that Kowam Khan, Yekhtyar Khan Lody, and several of the

old friends of the late King, Mahmood Toghluk, had formed a conspiracy against his life. This circumstance induced him to raise the siege of Budaoon, and to retire to Dehly, where on the 20th of Jumad-ool-Awul, 822, having assembled the conspirators, he caused the household troops to fall upon them, and put them to death.

Jumad-ool-Awul 20. A. H. 822. July 18. A. D. 1419.

About this time, also, the King understood that an impostor had appeared near Machiwara, assuming the name of Sarung Khan, and had collected a body of insurgents, though it was well known that Sarung Khan died during the time of Teimoor's invasion. To suppress this insurrection, Khizr Khan ordered Mullik Sooltan Shah Lody, entitled Islam Khan, at that time governor of Surhind, against the impostor, who being defeated fled to the hills, pursued by the joint forces of Mullik Toghan, governor of Jalendur, Zeeruk Khan, governor of Samana, and Mullik Kheir-ood-Deen, governor of Dooab. The impostor's army shortly after deserted him, each man withdrawing privately to his own home, and the Dehly forces, also separating, returned to their respective stations. In the following year the impostor appeared again, and joined Mullik Toghan, who had again gone into rebellion. Mullik Toghan, however, on discovering that his colleague possessed a large quantity of jewels, caused him to be assassinated; and marching to Surhind, he ravaged the country of Munsoorpoor and Pail on his route. The Dehly army, having attacked the insurgents, under

Toghan, gave them a total defeat, and drove them entirely out of the kingdom.

A. H. 824. A. D. 1421. In the year 824, Khizr Khan marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotla. In this year, also, the Vizier dying, that office was conferred on his son, Mullik Sikundur Tohfa. From Kotla, Khizr Khan marched towards Gualiar, where he raised contributions and returned to Etawa, exacting tribute from the son of Soomur Ray. Khizr Khan, falling sick during this campaign, returned to Dehly, where he died on the 17th of Jumad-ool-Awul, 824, after a reign of seven years and a few months.

Jumad-ool-Awul 17. A. H. 824. May 20. A. D. 1421.

Khizr Khan was esteemed a just, a generous, and a benevolent prince, for the age in which he lived, on which account his death was much lamented by his subjects; and as a token of their respect for his memory the inhabitants of Dehly, by common consent, wore black for three days. *

After this the nobles †, having assembled, consented to elevate Moobarik, the son of Khizr Khan, to the throne.

* It is worthy of remark, that the Mahomedans assume black garments as the garb of grief.

† The circumstance of Khizr Khan not having assumed the title of King, and the fact of the nobles assembling to elect his son Moobarik to the throne, at once bespeak the power to which aristocracy had attained over despotism, and proves by how precarious a tenour the prince held his throne.

SYUD MOOBARIK

Succeeds his father. — Insurrection in Punjab suppressed. — The minister appointed governor. — Survur-ool-Moolk created vizier. — New insurrection in Punjab. — The King of Malwa declares war against Dehly, and lays siege to Gualiar — is compelled to retreat. — Insurrection in Mewat suppressed. — The King proceeds to Byana. — The King of Joonpoor makes war with the ruler of Kalpy. — The latter is assisted by the King of Dehly. — The rulers of Byana, Mewat, and Surhind, in open rebellion against the Dehly government. — Byana and Mewat reduced to obedience. — The ruler of Surhind invites the Moguls from Kabul to aid him. — The King of Dehly retires from Surhind to Dehly. — The Moguls are attacked, and totally routed. — Revolt in Punjab. — The King's governor taken prisoner. — The King proceeds in person, and recovers Punjab. — Appoints a new governor. — Lahore taken by the Moguls and Gukkurs. — Mullik Sikundur appointed generalissimo — expels the Moguls and Gukkurs, and returns to court. — The King becomes jealous of his minister. — The latter, apprehensive of the King, causes him to be assassinated.

WHEN Khizr Khan perceived, from the nature of his disorder, all hopes of recovery were at an end, he nominated his eldest son to succeed him. Accordingly, three days after his death, Moobarik ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Moiz-ood-Deen, Abool Futteh Moobarik. He raised his cousin, Mullik Budr, to high honours, and nominated Mullik Rujub to the government of Depalpoor and Punjab.

A. H. 824. May, A. D. 1421. In the month of Jumad-ool-Awul he received advices that Jusrut, the brother of Sheikha Gukkur, (who had the preceding year defeated and made captive Ally Shah, King of Kashmeer*, on his return from an expedition against Tutta,) presuming on his success, had come to the resolution to attempt the throne of Dehly. For this purpose Jusrut Gukkur invited Mullik Toghan, who had fled to the mountains, to join him, and he appointed him Ameer-ool-Omra, or general-in-chief of his troops. Their first operations were directed against Punjab; and having seized Lahore, they secured the person of Zeeruk Khan, governor of Jalendur, which they also took, and subsequently besieged Islam Khan in the fort of Surhind.

Syud Moobarik, in spite of the rainy season, which was then at its height, marched from Dehly; but on his approaching Surhind he found Jusrut Gukkur had raised the siege and retreated to Lodhana. Here Zeeruk Khan contrived to effect his escape, and joined the King. The Dehly army now advanced towards Lodhana, where they perceived Jusrut Gukkur encamped on the opposite bank. He had secured all the boats on the river, a circumstance which obliged the King to halt at Kubboolpoor till the stream became fordable. On the 11th of Shuval, Mullik Sikundur (the Vizier), Zeeruk Khan, Mahmood Hussun, Mullik Kaloo, and

Shuval 11. A. H. 824. October 8. A. D. 1421.

* The kings of Kashmeer are the only Mahomedan monarchs of India who are unconnected with the Dehly empire: their history forms a separate chapter in this work.

other chiefs, forded the river; and the King himself following with the main body of the army, Jusrut Gukkur and his troops were thrown into confusion, and eventually put to flight. The King's forces pursued the enemy closely, slaying vast numbers, and capturing all their baggage.

After this defeat, Jusrut, having crossed the Chunab, took refuge in the mountains, and Ray Bheem, Raja of Jummoo, directing the King's army to Beesul, a strong fort into which Jusrut Gukhur had thrown himself, the latter again fled; but his followers were pursued with great slaughter. Meanwhile, in the month of Mohurrum, A. H. 825, the King, having marched to Lahore, ordered the ruined palaces and fortifications to be repaired, and appointing Mahmood Hussun governor, returned to Dehly. He had scarcely reached his capital when Jusrut, collecting his scattered forces, took the field again, and invested Lahore for five months; but failing in his attempt, he raised the siege, retired to Kallanore, and attacked Ray Bheem, Raja of Jummoo, for having betrayed his retreat to the King. On this occasion, Jusrut Gukkur, being unsuccessful, retired to the banks of the Beea, in order to refresh and to recruit his army. Meanwhile, Mullik Sikundur, the Vizier, having been sent to reinforce Lahore, was joined by Mullik Rujub, governor of Depalpoor, and by Islam Khan, governor of Surhind. With these troops the Vizier marched against Jusrut, and compelled him to recross the Ravy and Chunab, and to take shelter again among the mountains. The Vizier

Mohurrum, A. H. 825. January, A. D. 1422.

marched along the Ravy to Kallanore; and being joined on the frontiers of Jummoo by Ray Bheem, that Prince acted as guide to the Dehly troops, so that many of the Gukkurs, who were concealed, were discovered, and put to the sword; after which the Vizier returned to Lahore.

These successes induced the King to appoint the Vizier, Mullik Sikundur Tohfa, viceroy of Lahore, and to recall Mahmood Hussun. In the year 826, the King deprived Mullik Sikundur of the office of vizier, and conferred it on Surwur-ool-Moolk, whom he sent with an army against the Hindoos of Kutehr, in order to compel them to pay the usual tribute. The King, at this time, effected an accommodation with Mohabut Khan, governor of Budaoon, and intrusted him with a commission against the tribe of Rahtore Rajpoots, whose country was plundered, and some of whom were made prisoners. The Raja of Etawa, alarmed at these measures, withdrew suddenly from the royal camp. Moobarik pursued, and besieged the Raja in Etawa; but at length terms were concluded with him, and the Raja's son was delivered as a hostage for his father's future good conduct into the King's hands, after which he returned to Dehly.

A. H. 826.
A. D. 1422.

Mahmood Hussun, about this time, was appointed Bukhshy of the forces, which office in those days was styled *Arizy*. Jusrut Gukkur, unsubdued by his misfortunes, again appeared in the field; and having defeated and slain Ray Bheem of Jummoo, raised an army of nearly 12,000 Gukkurs with which he again made war on the kingdom

of Dehly. He ravaged the countries of Lahore and Depalpoor, and acquired considerable booty: Mullik Sikundur Tohfa, the governor, advanced against him; but rather than risk a battle, Jusrut retired with his spoils to the hills, where he continued to recruit his army for another campaign. Meanwhile Jusrut Gukkur formed an alliance with Ameer Sheikh Ally, a Mogul chieftain in the service of Sharokh Mirza, governor of Kabul; and prevailed on him to make an incursion into the territories of Seestan, Bhukkur, and Tatta, by way of creating a diversion, in order that, by drawing off the King's forces from the capital, for the defence of Sind, his own views on Dehly might be facilitated. Mullik Alla-ool-Moolk, governor of Mooltan, dying about the same time that the news of Ameer Sheikh Ally's incursion was received, the King detached Mullik Mahmood Hussun with the army to Mooltan. Sooltan Hooshung, King of Malwa, also in the same year invested Gualiar, so that the King was obliged to send all his troops to his frontiers. The King marched in person into Malwa, levying contributions, on his route, from Ameer Khan, the son of Wahid Khan, governor of Byana.

A. H. 827.
A. D. 1423.

Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa secured the usual fords of the Chumbul; but the King, having discovered others, crossed the river, and attacking Sooltan Hooshung in his camp, defeated his army, took many prisoners, and a part of his baggage. The prisoners, being chiefly Mahomedans, were released; and Sooltan Hooshung, thinking it advisable to compound matters by paying a sum of

money to the King of Dehly, was permitted to withdraw without molestation towards Dhar. The King of Dehly remained for some time in the vicinity of Gualiar to levy contributions upon the neighbouring Hindoo chiefs, and returned in the month of Rujub, 827, to his capital.

Rujub, A. H. 827. June, A. D. 1423.

Next year the King moved towards Kutehr, and was met by Nursing Ray, who came to the banks of the Ganges to pay his respects; but as he had not settled the revenues of his territory for three years, he was detained in camp for a few days, till his accounts were adjusted, and then released. The King, having crossed the Ganges, reduced some factious tributary chiefs, and returned to Dehly; but not remaining there many days, he marched towards Mewat, from whence he expelled some insurgents, and ravaging their country, returned to his capital; when having permitted his officers to retire to their estates with their troops, he abandoned himself to dissipation. The Mewatties, rendered desperate by the King's conduct towards them, took revenge on the neighbouring districts.

A. H. 828. A. D. 1424.

In the year 829, therefore, the King, collecting troops, marched to punish them. On his approach, Julloo and Kudroo *, the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir Mewatty, retreated to the hills of Alwur, and defended the passes with much obstinacy; but being eventually reduced to great distress, they surrendered, and were imprisoned.

A. H. 829. A. D. 1425.

* These are familiar appellations for Julal and Kuddur, to which the title of Khan was usually affixed.

A. H. 830. A. D. 1426. The repeated attacks on the Mewatties did not render them peaceable. The King, after a lapse of four months, was again obliged to send troops against them, who carried fire and sword through their whole country. The King now proceeded as far as Byana, where he found that Ameer Khan, the governor, was dead; and that his brother Mahomed Khan, assuming independence, had shut himself up in the town. The King laid siege to Byana for sixteen days, but on the desertion of part of the garrison, Mahomed Khan surrendered at discretion, and with a rope about his neck was led into the royal presence. The King delivered over the charge of the city to Mokbil Khan, and sent Mahomed Khan and his family to Dehly. After which, making Mullik Kheir-ood-Deen Tohfa governor of Seekry (known now by the name of Futtehpoor), the King marched to Gualiar, and received the tribute from the Raja. At this time Mullik Mahmood Hussun was recalled from Mooltan, and placed in charge of Hissar Feroza, while Mullik Rujub Nadiry succeeded to the charge of Mooltan.

Meanwhile Mahomed Khan of Byana effected his escape with his family to Mewat, and collecting a considerable force, recovered the city of Byana, in the absence of the King's governor, Mokbil Khan, who had gone on an expedition to Mahawun. Mullik Moobariz was now appointed to Byana, with orders to expel Mahomed Khan. The latter retiring into the fort, Mullik Moobariz took possession of the country, but after a few days' siege, Mahomed Khan, intrusting the defence of the

place to some trusty followers, escaped, and joined Ibrahim Shah Shurky of Joonpoor, who was then advancing with an army against Kalpy.

Kadir Khan, the ruler of Kalpy, on this occasion, sent expresses to Dehly for succours, and the King took the field in person. On reaching Atraoly, he detached Mullik Mahmood Hussun, with 10,000 horse, to intercept Mokhlis Khan, the brother of Ibrahim Shah Shurky, who was on his march to reduce Etawa. This detachment, encountering Mokhlis Khan, compelled him to fall back on his brother, and Mullik Mahmood Hussun rejoined the Dehly army. Ibrahim Shah Shurky, meanwhile, advanced along the banks of the Kaly-Nye* to Boorhanabad, from thence to the village of Rabery, while the King, Moobarik, moved by Atraoly to Malykota. The two armies marched parallel to each other till they arrived on the banks of the river. The King of Dehly, having crossed the Jumna near Chundwara, encamped within ten miles of the enemy. Both armies remained in their trenches for the space of 22 days, during which time slight skirmishes only took place. Ibrahim Shah Shurky, however, upon the 7th of Jumad-oos-Sany, marched out of his camp, and offered battle. The King of Dehly declined exposing his own person, but put his troops under the command of his vizier, Survur-ool-Moolk, who, with Syud Salim, Syud-oos-Sadat, was directed to engage the enemy. The action commenced with great fury at noon, and night only parted the

Jumad-oos-Sany 7. March 21.

* Caly-Nudee of Arrowsmith.

combatants, both armies retiring to their respective encampments. Ibrahim Shah, however, marching off on the next morning towards Joonpoor, left Moobarik to claim the victory. The latter, satisfied with this nominal advantage, moved towards Gualiar, having crossed the Chumbul at Hulkant. After receiving the usual tribute, he moved in the direction of Byana, into which place Mahomed Khan Ahdy had again thrown himself after the battle. On this occasion, Mahomed Khan made a brave defence, but was obliged to capitulate, and had leave to go whithersoever he chose. Mullik Mahmood Hussun was left in the government of Byana, and, on the 15th of Shaban, 831, Moobarik returned to Dehly. He there seized Mullik Kudroo Mewatty, who had joined Ibrahim Shah Shurky in the late war, and ordered him to be put to death, and Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk was sent to occupy Mewat; but the inhabitants, deserting the towns, fled to the mountains. Julal * Khan Mewatty, the brother of Mullik Kudroo, together with Ahmud Khan, and Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen collected a force within the fort of Alwur, and defended it so bravely, that Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk was content to receive a contribution from them, and to return to Dehly.

Shaban 15. A. H. 831. May 29. A. D. 1427.

In the month of Zeekad, the King received advices, that Jusrut Gukkur had besieged Kallanore, and had, moreover, defeated Mullik Sikundur in the field, and compelled him to fall back on Lahore.

Zeekad. A. H. 831. Sept. A. D. 1427.

* Vide note, page 518.

Orders were accordingly sent to Zeeruk Khan, governor of Samana, and to Islam Khan, governor of Surhind, to reinforce Mullik Sikundur; but before their arrival, the latter had obtained assistance from the Raja of Kallanore, and not only defeated Jusrut Gukkur in turn, but deprived him of all the plunder he had acquired in that province.

Mohurrum, A. H. 832. Feb. A. D. 1428. In the month of Mohurrum, in the year 832, the King marched to Mewat, and entirely subdued that country, obliging the inhabitants to pay him tribute. Advices at this time reached Dehly of the death of Mullik Rujub Nadiry, governor of Mooltan, when the title of Imad-ool-Moolk was conferred on Mullik Mahmood Hussun (who had settled the affairs of Byana), and he was nominated to the government of Mooltan. The King, in the following year, proceeded towards Gualiar, on the route to which place he required the payment of tribute from the Raja of Hulkant, who, unable to satisfy the demand, fled to the mountains,

A. H. 833. A. D. 1429. while his country was laid waste, and his subjects carried off as prisoners and slaves to Dehly. The King then led his army towards Rabery, and having wrested that country from the son of Hoossein Khan Mewatty, gave it over in charge to Mullik Humza. Syud Salim dying on the march back to Dehly, his eldest son received the title of Syud Khan, and the youngest that of Shoojaa-ool-Moolk. They were allowed also to retain the wealth their father had collected during 30 years of power, amounting to a sum supposed to be equal to the private coffers of the

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King himself, and which, according to the custom of Hindoostan, might have become the property of the crown. These indulgences, however, did not secure the fidelity of the sons of Syud Salim, who sent one Folad, a Toorky slave, to Surhind, to stir up an insurrection, privately, in their name. They had formed hopes, it seems, that they might be sent with a force to suppress the rebellion, and thus have an opportunity to join the insurgents; but the plot being discovered, both these chiefs were imprisoned, and Mullik Yoosoof and Ray Hubboo were sent to Surhind, to resume their estates, and to suppress the disturbances.

Folad, entering into negotiation with the Dehly chiefs, lulled them into security, and sallying one night from his fort, attempted to surprise their camp. He was so warmly received by the King's troops, that the attack altogether failed; but this circumstance did not deter Folad from making another attack on the following night, supported by a heavy fire from the works; on which occasion, the Dehly troops fled panic-struck, leaving their camp standing. On receiving intimation of this disaster, the King marched from Dehly in person. The rebel daily gathered strength; and the King was induced to direct Imad-ool-Moolk from Mooltan, and several other governors, to proceed to Surhind. The reinforcements having joined, the King remained on the Soorsutty river, and detached the greatest part of his army to invest the fort of Surhind. The rebel Folad now sent a message to the King, saying, that if Imad-ool-Moolk were sent to him, with a

A. H. 833.
A. D. 1429.

promise of pardon, he would deliver up the place. This measure was acceded to on the King's part; and Folad having met Imad-ool-Moolk without the gate was assured of the King's pardon, and promised, on his part, to surrender the fort of Surhind on the next day. One of Imad-ool-Moolk's attendants, being acquainted with Folad, hinted to him privately, that though Imad-ool-Moolk was a man of honour, and would certainly adhere to his promise, yet the King might not be so scrupulous. Folad's suspicions were raised, and having abundance both of money and supplies in the place, he determined to hold out to the last.

The King, finding the reduction of the place would occupy time, and thinking so large an army unnecessary for the siege, permitted Imad-ool-Moolk to return to his government of Mooltan; and leaving Islam Khan Lody, Kaly Khan, and Ray Feroze, with some Ameer Judeeda, to conduct the siege, the King retired to Dehly. Folad held out six months: he was greatly distressed; and saw no means of extricating himself but by an alliance with Ameer Sheikh Ally, governor of Kabul, on the part of Sharokh Mirza. He accordingly despatched messengers to him, soliciting his assistance. The King had taken no pains to keep on good terms with the neighbouring Mogul, who was induced to quit Kabul to aid Folad. He was joined by the Gukkurs on crossing the Beea, and ravaged the country of those chiefs who held estates in the Punjab, and who were conducting the siege of Surhind. Ameer Sheikh Ally

A. H. 833.
A. D. 1429.

advanced to Surhind, and compelled the royal army to decamp. Folad remunerated his ally with a sum equal to two laks of tunkas, and made him presents besides. He also placed in his hands his family, and by strengthening the fortifications of Surhind, and laying in provisions and ammunition, prepared for another siege. Ameer Sheikh Ally, recrossing the Sutlooj, committed vast depredations in the Punjab, realising by plunder one hundred-fold beyond the value of what he had received from Folad. On reaching Lahore, he imposed a contribution of one year's revenue on Mullik Sikundur Tohfa. From Lahore he proceeded towards Depalpoor, desolating that country also; insomuch that 40,000 Hindoos were computed to have been massacred, besides a great number carried away prisoners. Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor, posted himself in ambush to surprise Ameer Sheikh Ally at Toolumba, but he avoided the ambuscade by going to Khuteebpoor: meanwhile Imad-ool-Moolk received the King's orders to return, for the protection of Mooltan. This movement encouraged the enemy to march along the Ravy, and to lay waste the country to within two coss of the city of Mooltan; where Ameer Sheikh Ally defeated Imad-ool-Moolk, who endeavoured to arrest his progress. From thence the Moguls advanced to Khyrabad, within six miles of Mooltan, and on the next day, being the 4th of Rumzan, made an unsuccessful assault on the place; but they continued the siege, and committed daily depredations, putting all whom they met to the sword.

Rumzan 4. A. H. 833. May 29. A. D. 1430.

The King, informed of these transactions, sent Futteh Khan, son of Moozuffur Khan Guzeratty, with other nobles of distinction, to reinforce Imad-ool-Moolk, on which he marched out, and offered battle to Ameer Sheikh Ally. A sanguinary engagement ensued, in the commencement of which the Moguls gained some advantage; but after the death of Futteh Khan of Guzerat, the King's troops, inspired with revenge, fought more desperately, and gained the victory. Ameer Sheikh Ally was totally defeated; and having lost all his plunder, escaped with a few attendants only to Kabul; his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Jheelum in their attempt to escape. Imad-ool-Moolk pursued the fugitives to Shewur, and returned to Mooltan, while the nobles who had come to his aid repaired, by the King's orders, to Dehly. Soon after this event, the King becoming jealous of the popularity of Imad-ool-Moolk at Mooltan, recalled him to court. Jusrut Gukkur taking advantage of his absence, crossed the Jheelum, the Ravy, and the Beea; and attacked Mullik Sikundur Tohfa near Jalendur, whom he defeated and made prisoner, together with all his treasure and baggage. Jusrut Gukkur now advanced and laid siege to Lahore. Ameer Sheikh Ally was also instigated by Jusrut to make another incursion into Mooltan, and having taken Toolumba by capitulation, he broke his pledge, plundered the place, and put to death all the men able to bear arms; he also burned the town, and carried the wives and children of the inhabitants into captivity.

Folad of Surhind, taking advantage of these events, marched out of his fort, and invading the country of Ray Feroze, defeated and slew him.

Jumad-ool-Awul 1. A. H. 835. Jan. 3. A. D. 1432.

On the 1st of Jumad-ool-Awul, 835, the King, therefore, took the route of Lahore. Mullik-Survur-ool-Moolk was a second time appointed governor, and received the command of the advance guard of his army. The Vizier arriving at Samana, Jusrut raised the siege of Lahore, and retreated to the hills: Ameer Sheikh Ally fell back on Kabul; and Folad again shut himself up in Surhind. The King deprived the Vizier of the government of Lahore a second time, and nominated Noosrut Khan Goorgandaz * to the office, himself encamping near Paniput, on the banks of the Jumna. From hence he sent Imad-ool-Moolk, with a part of the army, to suppress some insurrections about Gualiar, while the Vizier, Survur-ool-Moolk, being left to besiege Surhind, the King returned to Dehly.

Zeehuj. August. A. H. 836. A. D. 1433.

In the month of Zeehuj Jusrut Gukkur advanced again to Lahore; and having commenced hostilities against Noosrut Khan, the King was induced, in the year 836, to march from Dehly as far as Samana. Intelligence was brought to him at that place of the death of his mother, Mukdooma Jehan, when he immediately returned with a few attendants to the capital, and after per-

* This epithet was given to this chief, probably, from his having personally got the better of a wolf.

forming the funeral obsequies rejoined his army. After his arrival in the camp he suddenly marched towards Mewat, conferring the government of Lahore upon Mullik Alla-dad-Lody, who promised to expel Jusrut. The Gukkur chief on hearing of the King's return, and being joined by a large body of his tribe, was enabled to defeat Alla-dad-Lody before he reached Lahore.

The King having received the news of this disaster, and also that Ameer Sheikh Ally was coming towards Surhind, again took the route of Punjab, sending before him Imad-ool-Moolk to reinforce the army besieging Surhind. On the approach of Imad-ool-Moolk, Ameer Sheikh Ally, who had formerly sustained a defeat from him, laid aside his intentions of coming to Surhind, and retreated by forced marches towards Lahore, which he surprised. Hearing, however, the King had reached Toolumba, Ameer Sheikh Ally left a garrison of 2000 men in Lahore, and retreated to Kabul, ravaging the country on his route, and leaving his nephew Moozuffur Khan in the fort of Shewur. Mullik Sikundur Tohfa, who had procured his release out of the hands of Jusrut Gukkur, by the payment of a large sum of money, was reinstated by the King in the government of Lahore, Depalpoor, and Jalendur; upon which he advanced and laid siege to Lahore, which surrendered by capitulation, and the garrison was permitted to retire to Kabul. The King now crossed the Ravy near Toolumba, and invested Shewur. Muzuffur Khan defended the place for a whole

A. H. 836.
A. D. 1432.

month; but being hard pressed, he capitulated, and, moreover, gave his daughter to the King, and paid a large ransom for his liberty. The King left a part of his army at Depalpoor, and with a select body proceeded in person to Mooltan, where he visited the tombs of the saints. From thence he returned in a few days to his camp. At this time he divested Mullik Sikundur Tohfa of the government of Lahore, and giving it to Imad-ool-Moolk, returned to Dehly. Being jealous of the power of the Vizier, Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk, the King united Kaly Khan with him in the office of vizier, and the latter being a man of superior abilities, soon gained the favour of his sovereign and the good will of the people.

Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk, dissatisfied with this arrangement, gained over Sudanund, the son of Gungoo Kutry, Meeran Sudr, deputy to the chief secretary, Kazy Abd-oos-Sumud, and others, who watched an opportunity for assassinating the King. At this time, the King ordered a city to be founded on the banks of the Jumna, and called it Moobarikabad, and made an excursion towards Surhind, in order to take the diversion of the chase. On the way, he received advice that Surhind was taken, and the head of the rebel Folad was presented to him, after which the King returned to the new city. Here he gained intelligence that war had broken out between Ibrahim Shah Shurky and Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, whose armies were then near Kalpy. This information promised to afford

Rubbee-ool-oola 17. A.H. 839. Oct. 10. A.D. 1435.

the King an opportunity of expelling Ibrahim Shah Shurky from his dominions; he accordingly gave orders to collect his army, and caused his tents to be pitched outside the city of Dehly. A few days elapsed in the necessary organisation of his forces, during which time the King continued to visit the new works: he was, however, little apprehensive of the event which soon after took place, never having given offence to his nobility, except in changing or removing them from their governments when they misbehaved.

Rujub 9. A. H. 839. Jan. 28. A. D. 1435. On the 9th of the month of Rujub, in the year 839, according to custom, he went to worship at a mosque lately built in the new city, with only a few attendants. On which occasion, Meeran Sudr, and Kazy Abd-oos-Sumud, with a band of Hindoos clothed in armour, entered the mosque; while Sudanund, the son of Gungoo Kutry, with another party of Hindoos, kept guard without, to prevent people from either going in or coming out. Although the King perceived the conspirators were in armour, he took no immediate notice of them; till at length Sidpal, one of the Hindoos, drawing his sword, rushed on him, and the rest following his example, they basely murdered this worthy and excellent Prince. Meeran Sudr, instantly quitting the spot, repaired to the house of the Vizier, and acquainted him, according to agreement, with what had happened; and Survur-ool-Moolk, who had previously arranged matters with Mahomed, one of the grandsons of Khizr Khan, raised that Prince to the throne.

Syud Moobarik reigned 13 years, three months, and 16 days. He was esteemed a man of good talents, and on most occasions just and benevolent. His temper was so equal, that it is notorious he never spoke in anger to any person during his life. The Towareekh Moobarik Shahy was written to commemorate the events of his reign.

SYUD MAHOMED,

The King's son, is raised to the throne by the minister. — The King's murderers are created governors of provinces. — Disaffection of the officers. — Insurrection in Sumbhul. — Kaly Khan sent to suppress it — he joins the insurgents, and marches to the capital. — The minister is slain. — Kaly Khan minister. — The murderers of the late King punished. — Rebellion in Mooltan. — Bheilole Khan Lody assumes independence in Lahore. — Defeats the King's troops sent against him. — Insurrection in all quarters. — The King of Joonpoor seizes some of the King's districts. — The King of Malwa leads an army against Dehly. — Bheilole Khan Lody is called in to assist the King. — The Malwa army retreats. — Disagreement between the King and Bheilole Lody — the latter quits the court — returns and besieges Dehly for six months. — The King falls sick — his death.

ACCORDING to the practice of the universe, which cannot subsist without order; on the same day which gave to Moobarik his death-wound, his son, the Prince Mahomed, was seated on the throne. The ungrateful assassin, Survur-ool-Moolk, vizier, received the title of Khan Jehan; and having secured the King's treasure, the regalia, and other effects, he dismissed all the old ministers from office, and appointed new ones, more suited to his views.

A. H. 839. A. D. 1435. Kaly Khan, the deputy-vizier, and other chiefs in the camp, called a council, on hearing of the King's death, and

resolved, rather than incur the horrors of civil war, for the present to submit to the new King, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity of taking revenge on the conspirators; so they accordingly came into the city, and paid their respects to Syud Mahomed. The first preferment which was made, in order to promote the Vizier's views, was the elevation of the Hindoo conspirators. Sudanund and Sidpal were raised to the government of Byana, Amroha, Narnoul, and Kohram, and other pergunas in the Dooab. Meeran Sudr was dignified with the title of Moyin-ool-Moolk, and received a considerable jagier. The son of Syud Salim was ennobled by the title of Khan-Azim Syeed Khan, and the government of several districts was assigned to him; while the officers of the late King were persecuted, and some even lost their lives under false pretences.

Rujub 12. A. H. 839. Jan. 31. A. D. 1435. One Ranoo, a slave of the Vizier, being nominated collector of the revenues of Byana, endeavoured to obtain possession of the fort, but Yoosoof Khan Lody opposed, and slew him. At the same time, also, some of the nobles of the late reign, who had served under Khizr Khan, perceived a design to deprive them of their jageers; and the following chiefs, Mullik Joomun, governor of Budaoon; Mullik Alla-dad Lody, governor of Sumbhul; Meer Ally Goozeratty, and Ameer Khan Toork, combined, and went into open rebellion. Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk, deceived by the behaviour of his deputy, Kaly Khan, intrusted him with the

command of the army to suppress the revolt, and Syeed Khan, Sudanund, and the Vizier's son, Yoosoof-Khan, went along with him. On arriving at the village of Birrun, Kaly Khan, who had resolved to take revenge on Sudanund, and Yoosoof Khan, for the murder of the King, informed Mullik Alla-dad-Lody of his intention. The latter, therefore, made no movement to oppose the royalists. Kaly Khan's design, however, became known to the Vizier, who sent Mullik Hooshyar, one of his own slaves, with an additional force, as if to reinforce Kaly Khan, but in reality with secret instructions to watch his motions. Kaly Khan, however, united his forces with those of Mullik Alla-dad-Lody previously to the arrival of Mullik Hooshyar, who was in consequence deterred from approaching, and Yoosoof Khan and Sudanund fled to Dehly. Kaly Khan, together with the malcontents, now marched to Dehly, which they reached on the last day of Rumzan.

A. H. 839.
A. D. 1435.

Rumzan 30.
April 15.

In this dilemma, the Vizier, Survur-ool-Moolk, took post in the citadel of Siry, wherein he stood a siege for three months; but the party of Kaly Khan daily gaining new partisans, the Vizier was reduced to the last distress. The King also perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined if he adhered to the Vizier, opened negotiations with the besiegers, and only waited an opportunity either of making his escape, or of cutting off his minister. The Vizier, discovered the plot, and determined to anticipate the King's intentions; accordingly, on

Mohurrum 8. A. H. 840. July 23. A. D. 1436. the 8th of Mohurrum, Survur-ool-Molk, aided by the sons of Meeran Sudr, and some of his followers, broke into the royal apartments with drawn swords, in order to put the King to death. The latter, having intimation of their design, placed a guard in readiness to counteract their project, which, on a concerted signal, rushed out on the conspirators, who took to flight. The Vizier, Survur-ool-Moolk, was cut to pieces as he was passing the door; and the sons of Meeran Sudr, with the rest of the assassins, being afterwards taken, were also slain, while Mullik Hooshyar, and Mullik Moobarik, who were concerned in the plot, were publicly executed. The Kutries, and other adherents of the Vizier, apprehensive of the King's vengeance, rose in arms, and compelled him to defend the palace. Thus situated, he caused the Bagdad gate to be thrown open to the besiegers, who, rushing in, committed a dreadful slaughter on the rebels, till they were entirely subdued; while such as were taken alive were bound hands and feet and sacrificed at the tomb of the late Syud Moobarik. Kaly Khan and the other chiefs took the oath of allegiance on the next day, a second time, to Syud Mahomed, when the office of vizier was conferred on Kaly Khan, with the title of Kumal Khan; and Mullik Joomun, receiving the title of Ghazy Mullik, was gratified with a jageer. Mullik Alla-dad-Lody refused a title for himself, but begged that that of Duria Khan might be conferred on his brother; and the rest of the nobles were confirmed in their several offices. Peace being

restored at Dehly, the King, by the advice of his counsellors, made a campaign towards Mooltan, and encamping near Moobarikabad, gave orders to collect his army from all the neighbouring provinces. Many of the chiefs being intimidated, delayed to repair to head-quarters, till Imad-ool-Moolk, arriving from Mooltan, aided by his power and influence the royal authority, and shortly after the other provincial governors joined the camp, and were honoured with dresses, and other marks of favour. The King now proceeded towards Mooltan; and marching for some time at the head of his troops, visited the tombs of the saints at Ajoodhun, and returned to his capital.

In the same year (A. H. 840) the King marched towards Samana, and detached a portion of the army against Jusrut Gukkur, whose country was given over to plunder, after which the King returned to Dehly. There he abandoned himself to pleasure, and totally neglected the affairs of his government. This conduct soon affected the administration of affairs, discontent pervaded every quarter, and an insurrection broke out in Mooltan among the Afghans, called Lunga. At this time, also, Bheilole Lody, who after the death of his uncle, Islam Khan Lody, had usurped the government of Surhind, took possession of Lahore, Depalpoor, and all the country as far south as Paniput. The King receiving intelligence of these events, sent his whole army against Bheilole, who was driven into the hills, and many chiefs of distinction fell in their retreat. Bheilole Lody, however, recruiting his army after

the royal forces had withdrawn, retook possession of the countries from whence he had been expelled. The King, on this occasion, sent Hissam Khan, the Vizier's deputy, against him; but he was defeated, and compelled to retreat to Dehly; on which Bheilole Lody wrote to the King, that if he would put Hissam Khan to death, who by his intrigues had been the cause of his rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The King was so weak as to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam Khan. He also deprived Kumal-ool-Moolk of the office of vizier, and conferring it on Humeed Khan, appointed a deputy with the title of Hissam Khan. The governors of the provinces, perceiving the King's imbecile conduct, predicted his downfall, and endeavoured to secure their own independence. The farmers and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that were likely to ensue, withheld the revenues, in hopes of retaining them in the general confusion. This state of affairs was favourable for the encroachments of the neighbouring princes; and Ibrahim Shah Shurky accordingly seized on several districts adjoining to his dominions, while Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, King of Malwa, making an attempt on Dehly, in the year 844, advanced within two coss of the city. Syud Mahomed, panic-struck, sent an embassy to Bheilole Lody, entreating his assistance; and he accordingly marched to the capital with 20,000 horsemen arrayed in armour. Though the King's army was greatly superior to the enemy,

A. H. 844.
A. D. 1440.

he refused to take the field; but giving over the charge of it to his officers, himself remained in the palace.

Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, on understanding that the King of Dehly was not present with his army, thought his absence was intended as an affront, and in order to resent it he gave the command of his own troops to his sons Gheias-ood-Deen, and Kuddur Khan. The armies of Dehly and Malwa having engaged, the troops of the former gave way, leaving Bheilole Khan Lody's division alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with determined resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their conduct, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory remained undecided. It is stated that Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy was alarmed by a dream on that night, and hearing on the following morning that Ahmud Shah Guzeratty was advancing against Mando, became desirous of concluding a peace, though shame prevented him from making the first overtures. At the same time, Syud Mahomed, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of his ministers, gave himself up to fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival proposing terms.'

Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, overjoyed at these overtures, hastened the accommodation, and quitting Dehly left the field. Bheilole Lody, whose contempt for his sovereign was now complete, boldly aspired to the throne, and marching out of the city with his own troops in pursuit of Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, attacked and defeated him, and took all his baggage;

for which service Syud Mahomed, unsuspicious of his designs, conferred on him the title of Khan Jehan, and even adopted him as his son.

A. H. 845. A. D. 1441. In the year 845, the King marched to Samana, and confirming Bheilole Lody in the government of Lahore and Depalpoor, which he had usurped, authorised him to attack Jusrut Gukkur. These substantial marks of the King's favour strengthened the hands of Bheilole, who having added considerably to his army by numerous bodies of Afghans, instead of attacking Jusrut Gukkur, gained him over to his views, and seized several of the King's districts. At length, marching his army against Dehly, he besieged it for some months, but for the present was obliged to abandon his enterprise.

The King's power decaying rapidly, the zemindars of Byana placed themselves under the government of Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Malwa;

A. H. 849. A. D. 1445. and Syud Mahomed falling sick, he died a natural death in the year 849, leaving behind him the character of a weak and dissolute prince. He reigned 12 years and some months; and his son Alla-ood-Deen succeeded him on the throne.

SYUD ALLA-OOD-DEEN,

The son of the late King, ascends the throne — proceeds to reduce Byana — retreats to Dehly — falls into contempt. — Interesting account of the Mahomedan rule in India. — The territorial limits of each principality described. — The King removes his court to Budaoon — attempts to put his minister to death. — The latter flies to Dehly, and invites Bheilole Lody to occupy it. — Bheilole arrives — deceives the King as to his motive — is adopted by the King as his heir — Alla-ood-Deen abdicates his throne — and is content to live at Budaoon.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN, the son of Syud Mahomed, ascended the throne on the demise of his father, and all the chieftains, excepting Bheilole Lody, took the oath of allegiance. The new King, however, was in no condition to resent this mark of contempt; but having collected an army in the beginning of the year 850, he marched to recover Byana. While on his route, he received advices that Ibrahim Shah Shurky was advancing towards Dehly, which, though false, brought the King back to his capital. Humeed Khan, the Vizier, ventured to remonstrate on his acting on so vague a report; but the observation brought upon the Vizier the displeasure of his master.

A. H. 850.
A. D. 1446.

This step at once proved fatal to the King's reputation; and the meanest of the people did not hesitate to say publicly, that he was a weaker

A. H. 851. A. D. 1447. man than his father. On the following year he marched to Budaoon, where he remained some time employed in laying out gardens, building pleasure houses, and making entertainments. Fancying the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination to make that city his residence, from which the Vizier endeavoured in vain to divert him.

Hindoostan was, at this period, divided into separate principalities. The Deccan, Guzerat, Malwa, Joonpoor, and Bengal, had each its independent king. Punjab, Depalpoor, and Surhind, as far south as Paniput, formed the territory of Bheilole Khan Lody; Mehrowly and the country within seven coss of Dehly, as far as the Seray Lado, was in the hands of Ahmud Khan Mewatty; Sumbhul, even to the suburbs of Dehly, was occupied by Duria Khan Lody; Kole Jalesur, in the Dooab, by Eesa Khan Toork, and Rabery and its dependencies by Kootub Khan Afghan; Kampila and Pattialy by Raja Purtab Sing, and Byana by Dawood Khan Lody; so that the city of Dehly, with a very small tract of country, alone belonged to the King.*

Bheilole Lody, about this time, made another attempt upon the capital, but was not more successful than before. The King, as soon as relieved from this danger, began to consider of the means to

* This description of the territorial divisions is extremely useful; besides these, Kandeish, Sind, and Mooltan had each its separate Mahomedan king.

recover part of his lost empire, and held a consultation with Kootub Khan, Eesa Khan, and Purtab Ray. These chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him that the nobles were disgusted with his vizier, Humeed Khan; and that if he were removed from office, and imprisoned, they were ready to support him, and did not doubt that the affairs of his government would assume a more favourable aspect. Syud Alla-ood-Deen, becoming the dupe of those traitors, imprisoned and disgraced the minister, and immediately ordered preparations for removing the court to Budaoon; from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him, though they represented, in a strong light, how impolitic it was, at such a juncture, to quit Dehly.

A. H. 852. A. D. 1448. Alla-ood-Deen, accordingly, in the year 852, marched to Budaoon, leaving Hissam Khan in the government of Dehly. When he arrived at his new capital, Kootub Khan and Purtab Ray, waiting on the King, represented that as long as the Vizier was alive, the chiefs could not be induced to trust themselves at court. The King was thus prevailed on to order the Vizier's death; but the Vizier's brother, having discovered his intention, found means, with the assistance of some of his friends, to release Humeed Khan, who escaped to Dehly. There he took possession of all the King's effects, and sent the females of the royal household out of the city.

Alla-ood-Deen deferring, by frivolous delays and excuses of weather and unlucky days, his march

to Dehly, allowed time for the Vizier to invite Bheilole Lody to assume the government. Bheilole, seizing the opportunity, amused the King by writing to him that he was on his march to chastise the Vizier; but having arrived, he quietly took possession of the capital, and was proclaimed King.

A. H. 854. A. D. 1450. This event occurred in the year 854; though the name of Alla-ood-Deen was, for form's sake, allowed to be read in the Khootba as usual. Bheilole, leaving his son, Khwaja Bayezeed, in Dehly, marched in person to Depalpoor, to organise, at his convenience, his Afghan army. While thus engaged, he wrote to Alla-ood-Deen, that his only motive for securing the capital was to expel the Vizier. To this letter he received for answer, that the King having adopted Bheilole as his son, he (Alla-ood-Deen) should ever esteem him as his brother; and formally abdicated the throne in his favour, on condition of his being permitted to reside quietly in possession of Budaoon. Bheilole Lody from that hour rejected the name of Syud Alla-ood-Deen from the Khootba, and publicly assumed all the insignia of royalty. Alla-ood-Deen remained at Budaoon unmolested till his death, which happened in the year 883 (A. D. 1478): his reign in Dehly being seven years, and his retirement at Budaoon nearly 28.

BHEILOLE LODY AFGHAN.

Origin of the power of Bheilole — permits Humeed Khan, the late King's minister, to resume his functions — at length he adopts a mode of seizing his person, without causing bloodshed, and compels him to withdraw from public life. — The chiefs of the petty principalities around Dehly refuse to acknowledge Bheilole Lody. — Bheilole establishes his supremacy over all but the state of Joonpoor, with which he contends during the reign of three kings, and eventually conquers it. — Bheilole proceeds to Gualiar — falls sick — returns towards Dehly — anticipates his death — divides his kingdom into chiefships — his son, Nizam Khan, is nominated his successor: — The kingdom of Joonpoor is conferred on his son Barbik: — Kurra Manukpoor is granted to Alum: — Bhyraich to his nephew Kala P'har: — Luknow and Kalpy are bestowed on a relative, Azim Hoomayoon: — Dehly, and the rest of the territory, belong to his Son and successor, Nizam. — Bheilole dies on his journey to Dehly, after a reign of 38 years. — His character. — Description of his government.

It is related that in early times the tribe of Afghans, forming themselves into a commercial community, carried on trade between Persia and Hindoostan.

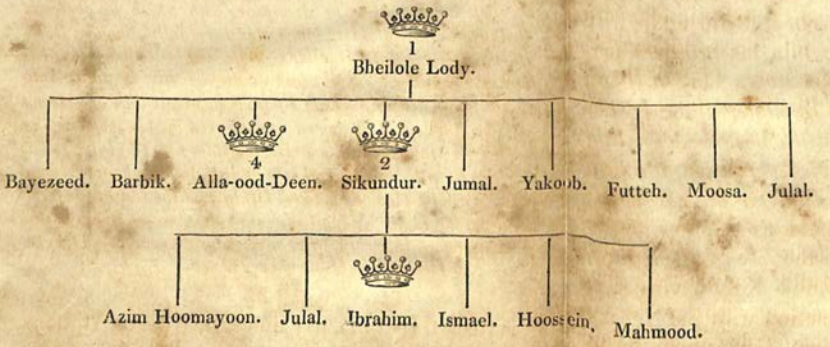
In the time of Feroze Toghluk, Mullik Beiram Lody, the grandfather of Bheilole, being possessed of wealth, separated from his elder brother; and entering the service of Mullik Murdan Dowlut, raised himself to the government of Mooltan. Mullik Beiram * had five sons, viz. Mullik Sooltan,

* The Afghans claim to be of Jewish origin; and though many of their customs favour this belief, the proofs are incomplete. Among other Hebrew peculiarities, is that of calling their chiefs Mullik.

[*To face page 344. Vol. I.*

FIFTH DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY,

AND FIRST OF THE RACE OF AFGHANS, ENTITLED LODY.



Mullik Kaly, Mullik Feroze, Mullik Mahomed, and Mullik Khwaja, all of whom, on the death of their father, remained in Mooltan.

When Khizr Khan was appointed to the government of Mooltan, Mullik Sooltan received the command of his Afghan troops. In the action which Khizr Khan fought with Mulloo Yekbal Khan, Mullik Sooltan had the good fortune to slay Yekbal Khan with his own hand; on which account he became a favourite with Khizr Khan, and was appointed governor of Surhind, with the title of Islam Khan, while his brothers participated also in his good fortune. One of these, Mullik Kaly, the father of Bheilolè, whose proper name is Bulloo, had a district bestowed on him by his brother. The wife of Kaly Khan, his own cousin, was smothered by the fall of her house when pregnant. Her husband caused her to be instantly opened, and saved the life of the infant, who was called Bulloo. Mullik Kaly having subsequently been killed in an action with the Neeazy Afghans, Mullik Bheilole joined his uncle Islam Khan, at Surhind; and, being much distinguished in battle, he received the hand of Islam Khan's daughter in marriage. Islam Khan was a chief of such consequence, that he retained 12,000 Afghans, mostly of his own tribe, in his service. At his death, though he had full-grown children of his own, Islam Khan made Bheilole his heir, and he succeeded to the command of the troops. On this occasion the Afghans divided into three parties; one of which adhered to Mullik Bheilole; one to

Mullik Feroze, the brother of Islam Khan, an officer in the service of the King of Dehly, and the other to Mullik Kootub Khan, the son of Islam Khan: Bheilole, having most talent, found means to weaken his rivals, and gradually to strengthen his own party.

Mullik Kootub Khan, stung with envy, repaired to Dehly, and acquainted the King, Syud Mahomed, that the Afghans at Surhind were establishing a power, which, unless soon checked, would subvert his throne. The Vizier, Mullik Sikundur Tohfa, was accordingly directed to repair, with an army, to that quarter, and to require the Afghan chiefs to appear at court, in failure of which he was authorised to expel them from Surhind. Jusrut Gukkur also was instigated to take arms against them; so that in the end they were driven to the hills. Subsequent to this, Mullik Feroze Lody, leaving his son Shaheen Khan, and his nephew Mullik Bheilole, with his army, proceeded with some attendants to the camp of Mullik Sikundur Tohfa and Jusrut Gukkur, under the most solemn assurances of good faith; but at the instigation of his nephew Kootub Khan, Mullik Feroze was seized, and his attendants cut off. After this event a part of the army was detached to reduce Mullik Bheilole; but he having retreated into the hills with the women and children, ensured his own safety, though Shaheen Khan was overtaken and slain, and a great part of his tribe destroyed.

After the death of Shaheen Khan, his head was cut off and carried to Jusrut Gukkur, and placed

before his father, Mullik Feroze, to recognise. The latter at first denied his son; but after hearing from those who attended of the gallant manner in which he had behaved, he burst into tears, and said, "Yes, it is my son; but I would not recognise his "countenance till convinced he had done honour "to his tribe." He observed, at the same time, "My nephew Bheilole could not have been in the "battle, or he would have been slain also. But "he lives; and if so, he will revenge the death of "my boy." *

When Jusrut Gukkur retired to Punjab, Mullik Bheilole collected the remainder of his tribe, and began to levy contributions: being extremely liberal in dividing the spoil among his troops, he became very popular, and his followers increased. Some time after, Mullik Feroze made his escape, and joined Mullik Bheilole; while Kootub Khan, repenting of his former conduct, became reconciled to his relations, and joining the Afghans, Mullik Bheilole headed the party which subsequently invaded Surhind, and occupied that province. On receiving intelligence of this event, the King detached Hissam Khan, his vizier, against the Afghans; but Mullik Bheilole gave him battle, and defeated him. They relate, that when Mullik Bheilole was a youth, he was permitted to pay his respects to a celebrated Dervish of Samana, whose name was Sheida. While sitting in a

* Afghan revenge has become proverbial in India. It is said, a man is never safe from the revenge of an elephant, a nag (the cobra de capello snake), or an Afghan.

respectful posture before the Dervish, the latter called out aloud, in an enthusiastic manner, "Who will give 2000 rupees for the kingdom "of Dehly?" Bheilole told him he had only 1600 rupees in the world; which he ordered his servant to bring immediately, and present to the Dervish. Having accepted the money, the Dervish laid his hands on Bheilole's head, and said, "Shah-Bash Béta *," literally, "Be thou king, "my son." The companions of Bheilole ridiculed him much for this action; but he replied, "That "if the thing came to pass, he had made a cheap "purchase; if not, the blessing of a holy man "could do no harm." After Mullik Bheilole had defeated the Vizier, he wrote to the King, as has been before related, ascribing the whole blame of his rebellion to the minister's conduct towards the Afghans; on which the King, as has been shown, basely cut off the Vizier, and permitted Mullik Bheilole according to his promise, to visit him. This meeting enabled Bheilole to carry on his intrigues at court, where he managed his affairs so well, that he was confirmed in the government of Surhind, together with some other districts in its vicinity.

When Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Malwa brought an army against Dehly, Mullik Bheilole being called on to join the King, he appeared at

* This is the ordinary mode of expressing great approbation in India, both to men and animals; and according to the idiom of the language, may be simply rendered by our expression, "Well done."

the head of 20,000 Afghan cavalry, with which he pursued Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy on his retreat, and plundered his army on the day after he quitted Dehly, for which service he obtained the title of Khan Khanan. On that occasion, Bheilole returned to Surhind, and instantly began to lay hands on the King's districts, contiguous to his own estates, such as Lahore, Depalpoor, and Soonam; not content with which, he marched his army boldly against the King himself. On reaching Dehly, he laid siege to it, but being foiled in his attempt, he was induced to retire to Surhind. Meanwhile, the King dying suddenly, his son, Alla-ood-Deen, ascended the throne. After some years, as has been related, Humeed Khan, the Vizier, seeing the declining state of public affairs, invited Bheilole Lody from Surhind, who ascended the throne, and assumed the title of king.

At the time of his accession, Bheilole had nine sons, whose names were Bayezeed, Nizam (who afterwards ascended the throne under the title of Sikundur), Barbik, Alum (who also became king under the appellation of Alla-ood-Deen), Jumal, Yakoob *, Futteh, Moosa, and Julal. Among the chiefs of distinction in the state no fewer than thirty-six persons were either blood-relations, or intimately connected with the new King.

* The Hebrew names of Dawood, Moosa, Yakoob, (David, Moses, Jacob) and others, which frequently occur among the Afghans, is a circumstance in favour of their Jewish origin. A fact the more remarkable, if the reader should take the trouble of observing how seldom these names occur among the Moslems of any nations unconnected with the Afghans.

Humeed Khan, the Vizier, who conferred the government upon him, still possessed great influence. Bheilole treated him for some time with much respect; but being one day in Humeed Khan's house, at an entertainment, he ordered the Afghans, whom he carried with him, to assume the manners of ill-bred persons, and act the part of clowns, in order that the Vizier might be less on his guard against them. When they came into company, some of them tied their shoes to their girdles, and others put them up in the recesses of the apartment; and on Humeed Khan's asking them the reason, they replied, that they were afraid of having them stolen. When they had taken their seats, one of them began to praise the flowers of the carpet, and the brightness of their colours, saying he would like extremely to have such a carpet, to send home, and make caps for his boys. Humeed Khan laughed, and told him, he would give him velvet or brocade for the purpose. When the plates and boxes of perfumes were laid before them, some began to besmear their whole body with the finest otto of roses; others to lick it up; and others devoured whole garlands of flowers; while the *pan* leaf was eagerly scrambled for, and greedily eaten up. Some having swallowed large pieces of lime with their pan, burned their mouths, made wry faces, and vociferated aloud. This conduct astonished the servants and the guests, who ascribed it to their ignorance as foreigners, that had never lived at court; while the King and the Vizier were convulsed with laughter.*

* No one but a person intimately acquainted with the cere-

The Vizier imagined that this scene proceeded from the King's humour, who, in bringing such people with him, had resolved to make merry in his house, but had no suspicion it originated from design. The next visit the King paid to Humeed Khan, a great number of his attendants were admitted; but as Humeed Khan had a still greater number of his own friends within the court-yard, it became necessary for the King to gain admission for more of his people, who were stopped without by the guards. The King having before instructed them how to proceed, they began to wrangle loudly with the guards, and threw out bitter invectives against the King, for permitting them to be excluded, swearing that they respected their friend the Vizier, and would see him.

Humeed Khan, on hearing the noise, ordered the gates of the court-yard to be thrown open, and directed as many of the Afghans as could conveniently be admitted to be allowed to come in. This point being gained, the King gave the signal, and his people, drawing their swords, told Humeed Khan's servants to remain quiet, and they should suffer no injury: on which, two or three seizing the Vizier, bound him fast. The King then told him, that gratitude was a security for his life;

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monious decorum of a Mahomedan party of rank and fashion can enter into the absurdity of the scene which Ferishta has described, nor would such a person even feel its full force who had not seen the extravagant mistakes committed by Afghans of the present day, even, when first coming to India from Pishawur.

but it was necessary he should withdraw from business, and spend the rest of his days in retirement.

A. H. 855. A. D. 1451. The same year *, being the 855th of the Hijra, having intrusted Dehly to the charge of his eldest son, Bayezeed Khan, the King marched towards Mooltan, both to employ his army, and to regulate the affairs of the western provinces. Some of his officers, dissatisfied with him, deserted and joined Mahmood Shah Shurky, King of Joonpoor; who, during the absence of Bheilole Padshah, in the beA. H. 856. A. D. 1452. ginning of the year 856, advanced and laid siege to Dehly; but Bheilole, hastening from Depalpoor, did not halt till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of his capital.

Mahmood Shah Shurky detached 30,000 horse, and 30 elephants, under the command of Futteh Khan Hirvy to oppose him. An action ensued, in which Kootub Khan Lody, the son of Islam Khan, who excelled in archery, shot an arrow into the forehead of one of Futteh Khan Hirvy's elephants. The animal, becoming outrageous, broke the line; and Kootub Khan, coming in contact with Duria Khan Lody, one of the malecontent chiefs who had joined Mahmood Shah Shurky, thus addressed him: "For shame, Duria Khan; where is your "honour, thus to wage war against your own kin"dred, and to lay siege to the city of Dehly, which "contains your family, when you ought rather to "defend it against your natural enemies?"—

* In the contests described in this reign, the reader will do well to consult a good map of the Dooab.

" Pursue me not," said Duria Khan, " and I am " gone:" he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Afghans in Futteh Khan Hirvy's army. The other troops, thus deserted, gave way, and Futteh Khan was taken prisoner; but this chief, with his own hand, had just killed Pritvy Ray, the brother of Kurun Ray: the latter, therefore, struck off Futteh Khan's head out of revenge, and sent it to Bheilole. The news of this defeat induced Mahmood Shah Shurky to raise the siege of Dehly, and to retreat with precipitation to Joonpoor.

The power of Bheilole Lody being once firmly established, he began to think of conquests. His first movement was towards Mewat; where Ahmud Khan Mewatty, submitting to his authority, seven purgunas were wrested from him, but he was permitted to hold the remainder as tributary. From Mewat the King marched to Birun; where Duria Khan Lody, governor of Sumbhul, presented him with seven handsome elephants, and acknowledged his supremacy. From Birun, the King proceeded to Kole; and confirming Eesa Khan in the government of that district, he continued his route to Boorhanabad, the management of which was intrusted to Moobarik Khan Lohany, while Meinpoory Bhooigam was delivered over to Purtab Ray. On reaching Rabery, Kootub Khan, the son of Hoossein Khan Afghan, shut the gates of the fort, and at first refused the King admittance; but shortly after, having made his submission, he was reinstated in his authority, and Bheilole marching from thence to Etawa, confirmed the former governor of that district also in his office.

At this time an officer called Joona Khan, quitting the court in disgust, joined Mahmood Shah Shurky, from whom he received the government of Shumsabad; and having instigated his new master to make another attempt on Dehly, Mahmood Shah Shurky advanced to Etawa, where the Dehly army was encamped. On the first day both kings sent out parties to reconnoitre, but no engagement took place; and on the next day, they began to retreat, having agreed, in the mean time, that Bheilole Lody should keep possession of all the countries belonging to Dehly, in the reign of Syud Moobarik, and that Mahmood Shah Shurky should retain all the possessions held by Ibrahim Shah Shurky; that Bheilole should, on the one hand, restore all the elephants taken in the action with Futteh Khan Hirvy, and that Mahmood Shah Shurky should dismiss Joona Khan from his government and service.

Mahmood Shah Shurky, immediately after this treaty, returned to Joonpoor, and Bheilole proceeded to take possession of Shumsabad. Mahmood Shah Shurky, incensed at this proceeding, returned to Shumsabad, where two parties from the Dehly army, under Kootub Khan Lody and Duria Khan Lody surprised the Shurky camp in the night. During this operation, Kootub Khan's* horse, having trodden upon a tent-peg, threw his master, who was taken prisoner, but his division

* From the context it appears that this person was not the same who held the government of Rabery, but some other military leader in Bheilole's army.

retreated without molestation to the Dehly lines. Bheilole Lody drew out his army on the following morning; but on receiving advice that Mahmood Shah Shurky had just expired, and that his ministers had set up his son Mahomed Shah Shurky, a treaty was concluded through the mediation of Beeby Rajy, the young King's mother. Mahomed Shah Shurky accordingly returned to Joonpoor, and Bheilole took the route of Dehly.

A. H. 856.
A. D. 1452.

Before Bheilole arrived at the capital, he received a letter from Shums Khatoon, the sister of Kootub Khan, entreating him not to suffer her brother to remain in the hands of Mahomed Shah Shurky, a circumstance which induced Bheilole to break the peace and to return towards Joonpoor; on which occasion Mahomed Shah Shurky met him near Sasny. At this place, Hoossein Khan, the younger brother of Mahomed Shah Shurky, apprehensive of his brother, withdrew with all his adherents to Kunowj, and Julal Khan Shurky, his other brother, followed his example. Bheilole availed himself of these events to detach a force to seize Hoossein Khan, in which object it failed, but overtaking Julal Khan, he was taken prisoner; and Bheilole determined to detain him as a hostage till the release of Kootub Khan by the King of Joonpoor.

Meanwhile the Shurky officers conspiring against Mahomed Shah put him to death, and recalling Hoossein Khan, who had fled to Kunowj, placed him on the throne. Bheilole now agreed to a truce for four years, on condition that both Kootub

Khan and Julal Khan should be released. Bheilole forthwith returned towards Shumsabad, where Nursing Ray, the son of Purtab Ray, came to pay his respects. It appears the latter chief had formerly taken a standard and a pair of drums from Duria Khan Lody in action; and that chief, in order to revenge himself, assassinated Nursing Ray, in spite of the opposition of Kootub Khan, the son of Hoossein Khan. Moobarik Khan, apprehensive of Duria Khan's influence at court, fled to Hoossein Shah Shurky. Bheilole returned to Dehly; and his attention being shortly after excited by the rebellion of the viceroy of Mooltan, and by the disorders in Punjab, he proceeded in that direction. On his march he learned that Hoossein Shah Shurky, taking advantage of his absence, was approaching Dehly for the purpose of besieging that city: he was induced to countermarch, and leaving the city in charge of Kootub Khan* and Jehan Khan, Bheilole marched direct towards the enemy. The two armies met at the village of Chundwar, where they skirmished without much effect for seven days, when a truce was concluded for the term of three years; at the expiration of which period Hoossein Shah investing Etawa took it, and gained over Ahmud Khan Mewatty and Eesa Khan of Kole to his interest. Ahmud Khan Julwany, also, the governor of Byana, went so far as to coin money and read the Khootba in the name of the Shurky monarch, who now advanced with an army of 100,000 horse and 1000 elephants from Etawa

* The same person alluded to in a former note.

towards Dehly. Bheilole, undismayed by the superiority of Hoossein Shah Shurky's force, marched out boldly to oppose the invader. The two armies, however, after remaining encamped for some time in sight of each other at Bhutwara, engaged only in partial skirmishes, in which no advantage was obtained by either party, and a hollow truce was again concluded. This pacification was not of long duration; for Hoossein Shah Shurky, having advanced again towards Dehly some months after, was opposed at the village of Sunkur, and obliged to fall back without attaining any object.

At this time, Beeby Rajy, the mother of Hoossein Shah Shurky, dying at Etawa, the Raja of Gualiar, and Kootub Khan, the son of Hoossein Khan, Afghan of Rabery, went to condole with him. During his visit, Kootub Khan, perceiving the rooted enmity of Hoossein Shah Shurky towards Bheilole, took occasion to observe that the King was nothing more than one of the dependents of Dehly, and could not hope to contend long with him, descended from a race of kings; concluding his speech by saying, "If I do not put you in "possession of Dehly, look on my words as no-"thing." Having taken his leave from Hoossein Shah's court, Kootub Khan proceeded to Dehly, where he stated that he had escaped with much difficulty from the hands of Hoossein Shah Shurky, who was meditating a fresh attack on Bheilole About this time, the ex-monarch, Syud Allaood-Deen, who had abdicated the throne of Dehly, dying at Budaoon, Hoossein Shah Shurky proceeded thither, and after performing the funeral

ceremonies, seized that district from the children of Alla-ood-Deen. From thence, marching to Sumbhul, he imprisoned Moobairk Khan, governor of that province; and proceeding towards Dehly in the year 883, he crossed the river Jumna near the Kutcha-Ghât. Bheilole Lody was at Surhind when he received intelligence of this invasion; and returning with expedition to his capital, several slight actions ensued, in which Hoossein Shah Shurky had in general the advantage. Another treaty was however brought about through Kootub Khan, in which it was agreed that Bheilole should relinquish all the territory eastward of the Ganges on condition of his retaining possession of all the districts on the west bank of that river. These terms being concluded, Hoossein Shah retreated towards Joonpoor; but Bheilole broke his faith, and pursuing Hoossein Shah, attacked him on his march, killing vast numbers of his troops, and taking forty officers of rank prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Bheilole followed up his success, occupied several districts belonging to Hoossein Shah Shurky, such as Kampila, Puttyaly, Shumsabad, Sukeet, Murhera, Kole, and Jalesur, and appointed agents for their management. Hoossein Shah Shurky, however, halted at Rampinjun, and gave battle, in which both parties claimed the victory; after which peace was once more concluded, leaving the village of Dopamow as the boundary between the kingdoms, when Hoossein Shah proceeded to Rabery, and Bheilole to Dehly.

A. H. 883.
A. D. 1478.

Hoossein Shah could not, however, forgive the perfidy of Bheilole; and having recruited his army, he again waged war, but was defeated at the village of Sirsar, after an obstinate battle, with the loss of all his treasure and baggage, an event which greatly added to Bheilole's reputation. Hoossein Shah Shurky fell back on Rabery, but was followed closely by Bheilole, and totally overthrown in a second engagement. After this battle Hoossein Shah retreated towards Gualiar, where the Raja supplied him with several lacks of rupees, and with elephants, horses, camels, and a handsome suit of camp-equipage, and accompanied him to Kalpy. Bheilole, in the mean time, marched to Etawa, then occupied by Ibrahim, the brother of Hoossein Shah Shurky, which place surrendered by capitulation. Ibrahim Khan Lohany, one of the Dehly officers, being left in charge of Etawa, the King proceeded to Kalpy, where he found Hoossein Shah Shurky encamped. The river intervening, both armies remained for some months inactive, till at length Ray Tilloke Chund of Kutehr, having come over to Bheilole, pointed out to him a ford, by which he crossed. He attacked Hoossein Shah Shurky, and defeating him, compelled him to fly in the direction of Joonpoor. At Kunowj, Hoossein Shah Shurky again opposed Bheilole, on the banks of the Kaly Nudy, but having now acquired a habit of retreating, he was, as usual, defeated: his regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio, Beeby Khonza. She was the daughter of the late ex-monarch, Syud Alla-ood-Deen, and was treated

A. H. 883.
A. D. 1478.

with great respect by Bheilole, who after this victory retreated to Dehly.

Having recruited his troops, Bheilole advanced towards Joonpoor, and having entirely subdued the country, made over the charge of it to Moobarik Khan Lohany, leaving Kootub Khan Lody, together with Khan Jehan, and other chiefs, at Bisowly. The King now marched to Budaoon, where he heard of Kootub Khan's death. Khan Jehan, Moobarik Khan, and many other officers, though they outwardly professed allegiance, no sooner heard of the death of Kootub Khan than they concerted measures to acquire independence. Bheilole, apprised of their intentions, marched towards Joonpoor, and having expelled Hoossein Shah Shurky, who had made an attempt to recover his kingdom, placed Barbik, one of his own sons, on the throne of Joonpoor. From thence he proceeded to Kalpy, which having reduced, he conferred the government on his grandson, Azim Hoomaioon, the son of his eldest son, Bayezeed Khan. The King then marched to Dholpoor, levying tribute on the raja of that place; from thence he proceeded to Ruttunpoor, a place situated in the districts of Runtunbhore, where having committed great devastations, he returned to Dehly.

Bheilole being now old, and infirmities daily increasing on him, divided his dominions among his sons. Joonpoor was conferred on Barbik Khan; Kurra and Manikpoor on Alum Khan; Bhyraich on his nephew Sheikhzada Mahomed Firmully, known by the name of Kala

P'har (the Black Rock), Luknow and Kalpy on Azum Hoomayoon, whose father, Bayezeed Khan, was assassinated by one of his own servants. Budaoon was allotted to Khan Jehan, a relation and one of his oldest officers, and Dehly, with several districts in the Dooab, were conferred on his son, the Prince Nizam Khan, known afterwards by the name of Sikundur, whom he now declared his heir and successor.

Some time after this, the King proceeded to Gualiar, and raising a tribute of 80 lacks of tunkas from the Raja, came to Etawa, from whence having expelled Sungut Sing, he returned towards Dehly. Falling sick on his march, many of the nobles were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they said, was the undoubted right of Azim Hoomayoon, his grandson by his eldest son. The Queen, hearing this, wrote to her son, Nizam Khan, (who, having intimation of his father's illness, was about to quit Dehly,) by no means to come, lest he might be imprisoned by the nobles. At the same time, the King, by the advice of his officers, caused letters to be written, to hasten his arrival in the camp in order to see him before his death. Nizam Khan was greatly perplexed how to act. He at length conferred with Kootloogh Khan, the vizier of Hoossein Shah Shurky, who was then a prisoner at Dehly. This chief recommended him to pitch his tents outside of the city, and to proceed by slow journies towards the camp. Meanwhile, the King's disease increasing, he died at Badowly, in the district of

A. H. 894. A. D. 1488. Sukeet, in the year 894, after a reign of 38 years, eight months, and seven days.

Bheilole Lody was esteemed a virtuous and a mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as companions than subjects. When he obtained the crown, he divided the public treasure among his friends, and could be seldom prevailed on to ascend the throne; saying, "That it was enough "for him that the world knew he was king, with- "out his making a display of royalty." He was extremely temperate in his diet, and seldom ate at home. Though a man of no great literary acquirement himself, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He placed great reliance on the courage of his Mogul troops, on which account they met with such encouragement among his relations and courtiers, that it is estimated there were nearly 20,000 Moguls in the service of the government during his reign. He was a wise and brave prince, and personally well acquainted with Mahomedan law. He also studied the best institutes for maintaining order in his government, which he invariably adopted. He was prudent, and, above all things, deprecated hurry in matters of state; and, indeed, his conduct throughout life sufficiently evinced how much he practised this quality.

SIKUNDUR LODY AFGHAN.

The Afghan chiefs raise Nizam Khan to the throne, under the title of Sikundur. — Eesa Khan refuses at first to acknowledge Sikundur, but does so in the end — he revolts, and is killed in battle. — Barbik Khan refuses obedience — he is defeated — is reinstated in his government of Joonpoor — his bad administration — is eventually removed. — Efforts made by Hoossein Shah Shurky to recover Joonpoor defeated. — Sikundur pursues Hoossein Shah to Bengal — invades Punna and Banda — proceeds to Dholpoor and Gualiar — receives submission from the rajas of both places — subsequently takes Dholpoor. — An earthquake in Agra. — Gives encouragement to the son of the King of Malwa to make over Chundery to him — obtains possession of Chundery. — Endeavours to lay hold on Runtunbhore, but fails. — Summons an army to collect at Agra for the siege of Gualiar. — The King is taken ill, and dies — his character — his zeal for the Mahomedan religion.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of Bheilole, the nobles met together, and consulted whom they should elevate to the throne. Some were disposed towards Azim Hoomayoon, the grandson, and others, towards Barbik Khan, the eldest surviving son of the late king. While they were debating on this point, the mother of Sikundur Khan (whose name was Zeina, the daughter of a goldsmith, but raised to the King's bed owing to her beauty) addressed the assembly from behind a curtain in favour of her son. Upon which, Eesa Khan, the

nephew of Bheilole, tauntingly observed, "What "business have goldsmiths' sons with the reins of "government, since it is proverbial that 'monkeys "make but bad carpenters.'" Khan Khany Lohany, one of the officers present, took him up sharply, saying, "The King is yet scarcely cold "in his grave, and it ill becomes us at such a "time to cast reflections on any of his progeny." Eesa Khan desired him to hold his tongue; observing, he was nothing but a servant, and had no right to interfere in family affairs. Khan Khanan now rising, instantly declared himself a servant of Sikundur Lody, and said that he would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it; when, having left the council, and being followed by all his party, he carried the body of the deceased King to the town of Jellaly, where, being met by Sikundur, the latter ascended his father's throne at that place. Sikundur now sent the corpse of his father to Dehly, and instantly marched against Eesa Khan. Having defeated this chief, he afterwards forgave him, and, returning to the capital, followed the example of his father, by conferring favours on all his kindred.

At the time of his accession, Sikundur Lody had six sons; viz. Ibrahim, Julal, Ismael, Hoossein, Mahmood, and Azim Hoomayoon, besides whom were 44 officers of distinction; such as

Khan Jehan Lody.

Ahmud Khan, grandson of Khan Khanan Firmully.

Sheikzada Firmully.

Khan Khanan Lohany.
Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany.
Duria Khan Lody.
Julal Khan Lody, Naib * of Kalpy.
Sheer Khan Lody.
Moobarik Khan Mowjy.
Khuleel Khan Lody.
Ahmud Khan Lody, Naib of Etawa.
Ibrahim Khan Sheerwany.
Mahomed Shah Lody.
Baboo Khan Sheerwany.
Hoossein Khan Firmully, Naib of Saharun.
Sooliman Khan Firmully.
Syeed Khan Lody.
Ismael Khan Lohany.
Tartar Khan Firmully.
Sheikh Khan Lody.
Sheikzada Mahomed Firmully (called also Kala P'har).
Sheik Jumal Firmully.
Sheikh Othman Firmully.
Sheikh Ahmud Firmully.
Adam Khan Lody.
Hoossein Khan Lody.
Kubeer Khan Lody.
Nuseer Khan Lohany.

* The word Naib, for lieutenant-governor of a province, seems to have been first introduced by the Toghluk dynasty: it prevailed afterwards for several ages, till, in the refinement of Hindoostany phraseology, wherein every person of rank is magnified by being spoken of in the plural number, as the kings of Europe say *We*, instead of *I*, the word Naib became Nawab, and we have become familiar with it as Nabob.

Ghazy Khan Lody.
Tartar Khan, governor of Tijara.
Khwaja Nusr-oolla.
Mobarik Khan.
Yekbal Khan, Naib of Bary.
Asghur, the son of Kowam-ool-Moolk.
Sheer Khan Lohany.
Imad-ool-Moolk Kumboh.
Alum Khan Lody.
Kubeer Khan Lody.
Bhikun Khan Lody.
Zaheer Khan Lody.
Oomr Khan Sheerwany.
Jubbar Khan Sheerwany.
Alum Khan Julwany.

Sufdur Khan Julwany.
Meean Joomun Kumboh,
Mujd-ood-Deen,
Sheikh Ibrahim,
Sheikh Othman,
Sheikh Oomr,
Sheikh Siddeek,
Kazy Abdool, Wahab of Kabul,
Meean Bhoory,
} Lords of the bed-chamber.

Sometime after his accession, Sikundur Lody marched towards Rabery and thence to the fort of Chundwar, in which place his brother, the Prince Alum Khan, had declared his independence. On the King's approach, Alum Khan, abandoning the town, fled to Eesa Khan Lody at Pattialy. Sikundur having conferred the district of Rabery on Khan Khanan Firmully, proceeded to Etawa, where he received the submission of his brother

Alum Khan, and pardoned him; he also conferred Etawa upon him as his estate. Thence the King proceeded to Pattialy, where Eesa Khan being attacked was wounded, and threw himself on the King's mercy. He was pardoned, but soon after died of his wounds.

Sikundur Lody now deputed a mission to wait on the Prince Barbik, his brother, who assumed the title of King of Joonpoor, requiring him to do homage, and to cause the name of Sikundur to be read first in the Khootba. Barbik*, however, rejecting this proposal, Sikundur Lody marched against him. Barbik, and his general Kala P'har, drew out in order of battle to meet his brother, and an action ensued, in which Kala P'har was taken prisoner. Sikundur Lody, on seeing him, alighted from his horse, and embracing him, said he esteemed him as his father, and begged he would look on him as his son. Kala P'har, overcome by this unexpected honour, replied, that except his life, he had nothing to offer in return, and trusted that he might be employed, and have an opportunity of evincing his gratitude: he was accordingly mounted on one of the King's own horses, and instantly led a charge of cavalry against the party whose cause he had before espoused, which in a great measure led to the King's success. The troops of Barbik seeing Kala P'har charging them, and imagining that all his division had also gone over

A. H. 894.
A. D. 1488.

* It will be recollected, that Barbik was Sikundur's elder brother.

to the enemy, took to flight. The Prince Barbik behaved with great bravery, but being deserted by his troops, fled to Budaoon. His son, Moobarik Khan, however, was made prisoner in the action. Sikundur Lody pursued his brother to Budaoon, and laid siege to it; but Barbik soon after capitulating, he was received with great kindness, and treated with respect. The King now returned to Joonpoor, and finding that Hoossein Shah Shurky, the exiled king of the Shurky provinces, was still in force in Behar, he thought it advisable to permit his brother Barbik to retain the government of Joonpoor in order to check Hoossein Shah Shurky in any attempt he might make on Dehly. At the same time, also, he left some trusty friends of his own with the Prince, on whom he bestowed estates, in order to retain them steady to his interest.

Sikundur Lody, now proceeding to Kalpy, resumed the government from Azim Hoomayoon, and conferred it on Mahomed Khan Lody. From thence he marched to Bhurayee*, where Tartar Khan the governor, after doing homage, was confirmed in his estate. The King thence marched in the direction of Gualiar, whither he sent one of his officers, Khwaja Mahomed Firmully, with an honorary dress to Raja Man Sing, who despatched his nephew with presents to meet the King at Byana. Sooltan Shurf, the governor of Byana, also paid his respects to the King, who removed

* A large town of this name exists at the confluence of the Chumbul and the Jumna.

him from that district, but nominated him governor of Jalesur, Chundwara, Marhera, and Sukeet. Sooltan Shurf was accompanied by Oomr Khan Sheerwany, to whom he was directed to make over the fort of Byana; but when he had got within the walls, Sooltan Shurf shut the gates, and prepared to defend himself. The King, however, choosing to overlook the circumstance, went to Agra, where Heibut Khan Julwany, who held that fort under Sooltan Shurf, also shut the gates. This insult so enraged Sikundur Lody, that leaving part of his army to besiege Agra, he returned in person towards Byana, to which he laid siege. Sooltan Shurf, in the end, was obliged to capitulate, and in the year 897 his government was given to Khan Khanan Firmully, and he was banished for the present to Gualiar. The fort of Agra falling about the same time, Sikundur returned to Dehly, where in a few days after he received advices of an insurrection at Joonpoor among the zemindars, who had raised an army, consisting of 100,000 horse and foot, and had slain Sheer Khan, the brother of Moobarik Khan Lohany, governor of Kurra. Moobarik Khan himself was driven from Kurra, and taken prisoner, while in the act of crossing the Ganges, by Saha Dew Raja of Kutra. The Prince Barbik had also been obliged to fly to Byraich to solicit the assistance of Kala P'har, so that the King, after only 24 days' rest at Dehly was under the necessity of returning towards Joonpoor. When he arrived at Dulmow he was

A. H. 897.
A. D. 1491.

joined by the Prince Barbik; and Raja Saha Dew, hearing of his approach, released Moobarik Khan Lohany. The King proceeded to Katgur, where the zemindars had assembled in force; but they were defeated, and much property fell into the hands of the Moslems. The King, having marched to Joonpoor and reinstated the Prince Barbik, himself remained a month in that vicinity. Here he received intelligence that the zemindars, having been again driven to excesses, had besieged Barbik in Joonpoor; on which Sikundur ordered Kala P'har, Hoomayoon Khan Sheerwany, and Khan Khanan Lohany, from Oude, and Moobarik Khan from Kurra, to unite and march against them. He also directed them to send the Prince Barbik to the presence, where he was made over, as a state-prisoner, to the charge of Heibut Khan and Oomur Khan Sheerwany.

After these events the King marched towards Chunar, then in possession of Hoossein Shah Shurky. On his approach, the garrison made a sally, but were repulsed. On reconnoitring the place, however, and being unwilling to incur the risk of failure, he proceeded to Kootumba*, a place dependent on Patna. Bulbhudur Ray, Raja of Kootumba, came forth to meet the King, and submitted to his authority. From thence the King marched to Arele, accompanied by Bulbhudur Ray. But the Raja suspecting treachery, left his retinue, and fled one night from the camp to Patna. Sikundur Lody permitted the Raja's followers to quit the

* Doubtful.

camp, next day, with his private property, but he allowed his own troops to plunder the country on their route to Arele. On crossing the Ganges at Kurra, the King went to Dulmow, where he married the widow of Sheer Khan, the late governor of that place. From Dulmow, Sikundur marched to Shumsabad, where, having halted for six months, he proceeded to Sumbhul; but returning from thence in a few days to Shumsabad, he plundered the town of Dewnary, where a banditti had taken post. The King spent the rainy season at Shumsabad, and in the year 900, he again marched in the direction of Patna. He was there opposed by Nursing Ray, the son of Bulbhudur Ray, at the Hundia Ghat, who being defeated, retired within the walls of Patna. On the King's approach, Bulbhudur Ray fled, taking the route of Surgooja, and died on the journey. After this event the King proceeded to Sahsdewar; but provisions becoming scarce in his camp, he was obliged to return to Joonpoor, having in this march lost most of his cavalry, owing to the bad roads and want of forage. Nursing Ray, the son of Bulbhudur Ray, and other zemindars, taking advantage of this circumstance, wrote to Hoossein Shah Shurky, then in possession of the province of Behar, that the cavalry of Sikundur Lody was now in so wretched a condition, that a favourable opportunity presented itself for him to take revenge. Hoossein Shah Shurky accordingly put his army in motion, and marched against the King. Sikundur, on hearing

A.H. 900.
A.D. 1494.

of his intentions, crossed the Ganges to meet him; and the two armies came in sight of each other at a spot distant 18 coss (27 miles) from Benares. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Hoossein Shah Shurky was defeated, and fled to Patna. Sikundur Lody, according to the most authentic accounts, pursued the fugitives for several days, with 100,000 horse; but hearing that his enemy had fled to Behar, he halted on the ninth day, till the whole of his army joined, with which he marched towards Behar. Hoossein Shah left Mullik Kundoo to protect Behar, and fled himself to Koolgam, in the district of Luknowty. Alla-ood-deen Shah Poorby, King of Bengal, received the fugitive at his court with the utmost courtesy. Here he passed the remainder of his days in obscurity; and the royal race of Joonpoor became extinct in his person.

Sikundur Lody, having returned to Dewnary, detached a division of his army against Mullik Kundoo, who fled, leaving the country open to the King of Dehly, who appointed Heibut Khan to remain with a force in Behar. The King now proceeded towards Tirhoot, the raja of which country consented to pay an annual tribute. Moobarik Khan Lohany was directed to receive it, while the King went to Dervishpoor, and visited the tomb of Sheikh Shurf Munery; on which occasion he distributed presents to the holy persons who resided at that shrine. It was at this time, also, that Khan Jehan, the son of Khan Khanan Firmully, died, and his son, Ah-

mud Khan, received the title of Azim Hoomayoon. The King now marched his army towards Bengal, and reaching Kootlooghpoor, Alla-ood-Deen Shah Poorby sent his son Daniel to oppose him. On the part of the King of Dehly, Mahmood Khan Lody and Moobarik Khan Mowjy were detached to meet Daniel. The opposing armies encamped close to each other at the village of Barra, but instead of fighting, a peace was concluded; when it was agreed that both parties should cease to molest each other, or to afford protection to their mutual enemies. On the return of the army towards Dehly, Moobarik Khan Mowjy died at Patna, and at Dervishpoor, Moobarik Khan Lohany also died suddenly. The duty of collecting the tribute of Tirhoot was now intrusted to Azim Hoomayoon, the son of Khan Jehan, while the government of Behar was conferred upon Duria Khan, the son of the late Moobarik Khan Lohany. There happened, at this time, a great dearth in the country; but the transit customs on grain being relinquished, that calamity was in some measure averted, nor were the duties again imposed during that reign. Sikundur, meanwhile, reducing the districts of Saharun, then in the hands of the zemindars, gave the lands in jageers to several of his officers. He then returned to Joonpoor, where he resided six months.

Sometime previously to this event, the King having asked the daughter of Salivahn, Raja of Punna, in marriage, the Raja refused to comply with his request; in consequence of which, the

A. H. 904. A. D. 1498. King put his army in motion, and in the year 904, marched to Punna, and sacked the country as far as Banda, after which he returned to Joonpoor, where he spent some time. At this period the accounts of Moobarik Khan Lody being inspected, for the period of his administration in Joonpoor, and great defalcation being discovered, the King ordered the balances to be realised from him. This circumstance gave umbrage to many Afghan officers, which evinced itself in the factions that arose in favour of the defaulter. One day, while the King and his court were playing at chowgan *, the bat of Heibut Khan Sheerwany, by accident, came in contact with the head of Sooliman, the son of Duria Khan Lody, who received a severe blow. This was resented on the spot by Khizr Khan, the brother of Sooliman, who galloping up to Hybut Khan, struck him violently over the skull. In a few minutes both sides joined in the quarrel, and the field was in uproar and confusion. Mahmood Khan Lody and Khan Khanan Lody interposing, endeavoured to pacify Heibut Khan, and succeeded in persuading him to go quietly home with them. The King, apprehensive of conspiracy, retired immediately to the palace, but nothing more transpiring, he made another party at the same game a few days after. On the road to the play-ground, Shums Khan, a relation of Heibut Khan Sheerwany, perceiving Khizr Khan, the brother of Sooliman Khan Lody, instantly attacked him with his bat, and knocked

* The game of chowgan has before been described; vide note, p. 199.

him off his horse. The King abused Shums Khan grossly, and returned to his palace; and could not be persuaded but that there was some plot in agitation. He accordingly ordered his guards to be selected, and to be more than usually vigilant. The King's jealousies were not groundless; for at that time Heibut Khan Sheerwany and two other chiefs had proposed to the Prince Futteh Khan, the King's brother, to cut him off, declaring that he was now universally disliked, and they offered to place Futteh Khan on the throne. The Prince, desiring some time to consider of the project, consulted Sheikh Tahir Kabully and his mother, who both strongly dissuaded him from lending himself to the conspiracy; and lest the affair should by any other means transpire, they recommended him to acquaint the King instantly of what had been proposed to him. On this, the conspirators being detached on different services, to a distance, were cut off in detail.

A. H. 905. A. D. 1499.

In the year 905, the King marched to Sumbhul, where he spent four years, partly in pleasure, and partly in transacting civil affairs. While thus employed, he heard heavy complaints from the Afghans against Asghur Khan, the governor of Dehly. On this he ordered Khuvas Khan, governor of Machiwara, to proceed to Dehly, and to send Asghur Khan prisoner to court. Asghur Khan, receiving advice of this intention, quitted the capital, and threw himself at the King's feet; but not being able to frame sufficient excuse for his conduct, he was ordered into confinement. It is mentioned that about this period a brah-

min, whose name was Boodhun, an inhabitant of Kataen, near Luknow, being upbraided by some Mahomedans on account of his faith, maintained "that the religions both of the Moslems and "Hindoos, if acted on with sincerity, were equally "acceptable to God."

As this opinion had been supported with some ingenuity, and much argument, by the brahmin, the subject came to be discussed publicly before the kazies of Luknow, and the brahmin was ordered to appear. On this occasion, Kazy Peeala and Sheikh Budr, both residing at Luknow, had different opinions; and the arguments of the brahmin having made some stir in the city, Azim Hoomayoon, the governor, thought fit to send all the parties to the court at Sumbhul, where the King, who was fond of hearing disputations on religious subjects, directed the most learned men in his empire to assemble and argue the point of faith with the brahmin. The following persons were accordingly brought together: —

Meean Kadir Bin Sheikh Rajoo.
Meean Abdool Elias, and
Meean Allahdad of Toolumba.
Syud Mahomed, Bin Syud Khan of Dehly.
Moolla Kootb-ood-Deen, and
Moolla Allahdad Saleh from Surhind.
Syud Aman.
Syud Boorhan, and
Syud Ahsun from Kunowj.

Besides which were the learned men who usually attended the court; such as,

Syud Sudur-ood-Deen of Kunowj.
Meean Abdool Rahman of Seekry.
Meean Azeez-oolla of Sumbhul.

All these persons were present at this disputation. After many arguments, the learned men were of opinion, that unless the infidel, who had maintained the Hindoo worship to be equally acceptable to God as that of the true faith, should renounce his error, and adopt the Mahomedan religion, he ought to suffer death. The Hindoo refused to apostatise, and was accordingly executed, while the Mussulmen doctors were rewarded with gifts, and returned to their respective homes.

When Khuvas Khan, whom we have already mentioned, entered Dehly, he found an order from the King to proceed to court. Syud Khan Lody was also recalled from Lahore, and being suspected of disaffection, he, together with Tartar Khan Firmully, and Mahomed Shah Lody, were banished to Guzerat.

A. H. 907. A D. 1501. In the same year (A. H. 907), Man-Sing Ray of Gualiar sent one of his eunuchs, named Nehal, to the King, with rich presents, as ambassador; but this person having given offence at court, was ordered to quit it suddenly, without obtaining an audience. At this time, information was received of the death of Khan Khanan Firmully, governor of Byana. The management of Byana devolved on his sons; but as the government fell into disorder in their hands, the King conferred the office of governor on Khuvas Khan, while Ahmud and Sooliman,

the sons of the late Khan Khanan, received the estates of Shumsabad, Jalesur, Kampila, and Shahabad. Sudr Khan was deputed at the same time with a force to reduce Agra, then dependent on Byana, and which had revolted. Another detachment also went to besiege Dholpoor, which was in possession of Raja Vinaik Dew, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Khwaja Bubun, the officer employed on this latter duty, being killed, the King was so vexed, that he marched from Sumbhul towards Dholpoor on Friday the sixth of Jumad-ool-Awul of the same year. On his approach, Vinaik Dew, leaving a deputy in the fort, fled towards Gualiar; and the garrison on the next night evacuated the place, and enabled the King to take possession. He remained there about a month, and having laid waste the country, proceeded to Gualiar. The Raja of Gualiar sued for terms, and delivered up Syeed Khan Sheerwany, Babookhan Sheerwany, and Ray Gunesh, who had, at different times, fled from the court, and found protection with him. At the same time, he deputed the Raja's own son Vikramajeet, with costly offerings, to propitiate the King's favour.

Jumad-ool-Awul 6. A. H. 907. November 17. A. D. 1501.

Sikundur Lody, having returned to Dholpoor, reinstated the Raja Vinaik Dew, and then marching to Agra, he resolved to make that city his capital. He stayed in Agra during the rains, but in the year 910, marched towards Mundril. Having taken that place, he destroyed the Hindoo temples, and caused mosques to be built in their stead. From thence returning

A. H. 910. A. D. 1504.

to Dholpoor, he took the fort from the Raja Vinaik Dew, and conferred the command of it on Sheikh Kumr-ood-Deen. Thence returning to Agra, the King permitted his officers to return to their respective estates.

In the following year, on Sunday, the 3d of Suffur, a violent earthquake occurred in Agra, so that the mountains shook to their broad bases, and lofty buildings were levelled with the ground. Several thousand inhabitants were buried under the ruins. No such earthquake has ever been experienced in India, either before or since. In the same year, the King proceeded towards Gualiar. He remained some months at Dholpoor, where having left his family and heavy baggage, he proceeded, with an unincumbered army of horse, to the hills, to plunder some Hindoo rajas, from whom he took great spoils. Finding the supplies in his camp fail suddenly, owing to the free intercourse with the Bunjaras * being cut off, he detached Azim Hoomayoon, Ahmud Khan, and Mujahid Khan, with their divisions, to afford these merchants convoy, which they effected at great risk, owing to the

Suffur 3. A. H. 911. July 5. A. D. 1505.

* This is the first mention we have of this useful class in the Mahomedan history. The Bunjaras form a very ancient Hindoo mercantile community, and reside always in their tents. They have laws of their own, and do not intermarry with inhabitants of towns. The men are remarkable for their courage, their integrity, and enterprise; and the women are reputed for their chastity. An account of this race, in the Deccan, will be found in the first volume of the Bombay Literary Transactions.

vigorous efforts of the inhabitants in the vicinity of Gualiar. Shortly after, while the army was passing near the town of Chinoor, a dependency of Gualiar, it was attacked in an ambuscade, and saved only by the bravery of Dawood Khan, and by Ahmud Khan, the son of Khan Jehan, grandson of Khan Khanan Firmully: the Hindoos were at length repulsed, and a number of Rajpoots fell by the sword.

A. H. 912. A. D. 1506. Having returned to Agra, the King proceeded in the year 912 towards the fort of Hunwuntgur, despairing of reducing Gualiar. Hunwuntgur fell in a short time, and the Rajpoot garrison was put to the sword, the temples were destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their stead. Bhikun Khan, the son of Mujahid Khan, was left in charge; but the King, having afterwards received information that Mujahid Khan had taken a bribe from the Raja of Hunwuntgur, in order to divert the King from attacking that place, Mujahid Khan was imprisoned at Dholpoor, and the King returned towards Agra. On the road, the army halted one day on a spot where there was little water. The distress in consequence was so severe, that, independently of the loss of baggage cattle, no fewer than 800 human beings perished, before they could obtain relief; and till evening, a small cup of water sold for fifteen tunkas throughout the camp.

A. H. 913. A. D. 1506. In the following year, the King marched against Nurwur, a strong fort in the district of Malwa, then in possession of the Hindoos. The Prince Julal Khan,

governor of Kalpy*, was directed to advance and invest the place; and should the Hindoos resist, he was required to inform the King. On the King's arrival before Nurwur, Julal Khan drew up his army, out of respect, to receive him; but this circumstance creating distrust in the mind of Sikundur, he determined on his ruin. Nurwur, which was eight coss in circumference, was invested; but the operations were protracted for eight months; when it appearing that a clandestine correspondence was maintained with the garrison, and suspicions falling on the Prince Julal Khan Lody, and Sheer Khan Lohany, they were both imprisoned in the fort of Hunwuntgur. The garrison soon after capitulated, being in want both of water and provisions. The King remained for the space of six months at Nurwur, breaking down temples, and building mosques. He also established a college there, and placed therein many holy and learned men. It was at this period, that Shahab-ood-Deen, the son of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen, King of Malwa, being discontented with his father, proposed a conference with the King of Dehly. A meeting took place on the Seepry, where Sikundur Lody promised him his support, if he would make over Chundery to him.

Shaban, A. H. 914. Dec. A. D. 1508. In the month of Shaban, A.H. 914, the King marched from Nurwur; but after proceeding some distance along

* There were two princes of the same name: that now mentioned was the King's brother; he who succeeded him as governor of Kalpy was the King's son.

the Sind river, he resolved to surround Nurwur with another wall, which was ordered to be immediately commenced. The King now marched to the town of Yehar, where he halted during a whole month. At this place, Niamut Khatoon, the wife of Kootub Khan Lody, and the wet nurse of the young Prince Julal Khan, paid her respects to the King, and the district of Kalpy was made over in jageer to the Prince. The King now returned towards the capital. On arriving at Hulkânt, he sent a detachment against some rebels in that neighbourhood, and destroyed all their habitations, small posts being established at proper distances to overawe them. About this time, advices were received, that Ahmud Khan, the son of Moobarik Khan Lody, governor of Luknow, had become a convert to the Hindoo doctrines*; on which, orders were despatched to his brother, Mahomed Khan, to send him prisoner to court, and his second brother, Syud Khan, was directed to take the administration of affairs into his hands. In the same year, also, Mahomed Khan, the grandson of Sooltan-Nasir-ood-Deen of Malwa, having fled from the wrath of his grandfather,

* It is difficult to believe that any one, brought up in the simple creed of Islam, should himself become an idolater: he could not, according to Hindoo usage, have been received as a convert; yet it is quite natural, that, viewing the moral practice of the Hindoos, he should have ceased to persecute them, or to believe that they must, necessarily, be damned, because they did not embrace the Moslem faith. A conviction of this nature, and an expression of such a sentiment, might, under Sikundur Lody, have subjected the true believer to the imputation of downright apostasy from the true faith.

sought an asylum at the Dehly court. The King desired him to remain quietly in his jageer of Chundery, and directed that the Prince Julal Khan of Kalpy should take care to protect him from the power of the King of Malwa. At this time, the King having marched to Dholpoor, ordered caravansaraa to be built at every stage. It was in this year, also, Mahomed Khan Nagoory defeated Ally Khan and Aba Bukr, who had conspired against him, and they fled to Sikundur Lody for protection. Mahomed Khan, dreading the King's resentment, sent presents to propitiate his good will, and, moreover, caused the Khootba of Nagoor to be read in the name of the King of Dehly. The King, on his part, pleased with this instance of voluntary submission, returned him a dress, and confirmed his authority.

A. H. 915.
A. D. 1509.

While the King was encamped at Dholpoor, he ordered Sooliman Khan, the son of Khan Jehan Firmully, to march to the aid of Hoossein Khan of Hunwuntgur. Sooliman Khan having excused himself, by saying he preferred being about the King's person, the latter became incensed, and forthwith dismissed him from his service, directing him to quit the camp by next morning at daylight; at the same time, he conferred the revenue of Birun on him for his future maintenance.

At this time, Bohjut Khan, governor of Chundery, on the part of the King of Malwa, perceiving the imbecility of his master, Sooltan Mahmood, made overtures to place himself under the Dehly government. Sikundur Lody accordingly deputed

Imad-ool-Moolk to assist Bhojut Khan in his revolt; soon after which, the King issued a proclamation, announcing the acquisition of Chundery to his dominions. Deeming it desirable, also, to make some alterations among the public officers of that province, the King deputed Syud Khan Lody, Sheikh Jumal Firmully, and Ray Oogur-Sein Kuchwaha, together with Khizr Khan and Khwaja Ahmud, to proceed to Chundery; and these officers succeeded in occupying effectually that district for the government of Dehly. Mahomed Khan, the Prince of Malwa, although considered ostensibly the chief of Chundery, was, in fact, dispossessed of all authority, and confined to the city, while the supremacy of Bohjut Khan, the Malwa governor, being usurped by the Dehly officers, he left his government and came to court. At this period, the King having reason to suspect the conduct of Hoossein Khan Firmully, Naib of Saharun, he deputed Hajy Sarung with some troops into that quarter, with orders to gain over the Naib's troops, and to seize his person. Hoossein Khan became acquainted with the King's intentions; and contriving his escape, sought an asylum with Alla-ood-Deen Shah Poorby, King of Bengal.

A. H. 922. A. D. 1516. In the year 922, Ally Khan Nagoory, governor of Suisapoor, entered into a plot with the Prince Dowlut Khan of Malwa, governor of Runtunbhore, who promised to deliver that fortress to the King of Dehly, if he should come in person to take possession. Sikundur Lody, overjoyed at this intelligence, pro-

ceeded towards Byana, to which place the governor of Runtunbhore came to meet him, and was honourably received; but Ally Khan Nagoory, disappointed in the attainment of some objects on which he had calculated as a reward for bringing this affair to bear, resolved to prevent its accomplishment, and used his influence with the governor to retract his promise. The King, ascertaining the true cause of this change, disgraced Ally Nagoory, and deprived him of his government of Suisapoor, which he conferred on his brother, Aba Bukr; and Sikundur Lody was obliged to return to Agra without obtaining possession of Runtunbhore. In the year 923, the King summoned all the distant nobles to Agra, with a determination to reduce Gualiar; and was in the midst of his preparations, when, being taken ill of a quinsy, he died on Sunday, the 7th of Zeekada, 923.

Zeekada 7. A. H. 923. Dec. 14. A. D. 1517.

Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud states in his work, that the authors who have written this reign have filled their history with copious details of the great qualities of this Prince; but he observes, that he has considerably abridged their accounts, and confined himself only to such facts as appeared to him to merit particular notice. The authors alluded to have given a description of his person, which was remarkable for its beauty and comeliness, as was his mind for the store of learning and good sense which it contained. During his reign, all the articles of life were cheap and abundant, and peace pervaded his dominions. He never omitted to devote a certain time to hear complaints in public;

and he has been frequently known to sit at business the whole day long, even after his appointed time for meals and rest. He was in the habit of praying regularly five times daily. He was strictly just in his administration, and seldom known to be actuated by private feelings. He was as remarkable for his fear of God as for his benevolence towards his people. One day, while advancing against his brother Barbik, in the early part of his reign, a kullundur met him, and said, "God "send you victory!" on which the King said, "Pray that the victory may be his who will best "promote the good of his subjects." He had numerous pensioners among the holy men of the empire, to whom he sent their stipends twice a year, and a suit of clothes once. He ordered alms and food to be distributed on Fridays to all who chose to partake in town or camp wheresoever he might be. He encouraged charity of all descriptions; and did not fail to commend his nobles for any generous acts which reached his ears, and thus promoted a disposition to do good among his public officers; saying, "You have laid a found-"ation of virtue; you will never repent it." He was firmly attached to the Mahomedan religion, and made a point of destroying all Hindoo temples. In the city of Mutra he caused musjids and bazars to be built opposite the bathing-stairs leading to the river, and ordered that no Hindoos should be allowed to bathe there. He forbade the barbers to shave the beards and heads of the inhabitants, in order to prevent the Hindoos following their usual practices at such pilgrimages. He also pro-

hibited the procession of the spear, which took place annually in commemoration of the deeds of Salar Musaood, and put a stop to the custom of females going abroad, and making offering at Mahomedan shrines. Before he ascended the throne he had once a quarrel with a holy man, who maintained that it was highly improper for a king to interfere with the religion of his subjects, or to prevent them bathing at places to which they had been accustomed to resort for ages. The Prince drew his sword, and said, "Wretch! do you maintain the "propriety of the Hindoo religion?" The holy man replied, "By no means: I speak from autho- "rity: kings should not persecute their subjects "on any account." This answer pacified him. He reformed and new-modelled the establishments of all the mosques throughout his dominions, and gave great encouragement to learning, so that almost all his military officers were well educated men; and even Hindoos, who had hitherto never learned Persian, commenced in this reign to study Mahomedan literature. The profession of arms assumed under his government a new character. He made a point of ascertaining the qualities of every officer who was promoted, and particularly enquired into his origin and education. He established horse-posts throughout his country, and received accounts daily from every military detachment of his army in motion. Whenever it was necessary to issue proclamations, persons were sent in all directions to read them at the time of public devotion in the mosques. Reports of the armies, of the court, and of the principal cities, were

drawn up by authority, and read to the King daily, which enabled him to rectify at once any deviation from his orders. He very frequently went into long and tedious enquiries on intricate cases of law, and settled them in person. There are many wonderful stories related of his quick penetration and sound judgment. Among others, is the following: — There were two brothers, private soldiers, who had procured some booty at Gualiar during the siege; among other articles of plunder were two large rubies, but of different shapes. One of the brothers determined to quit the service and return to his family at Dehly, while the other resolved to continue in the army; but he made over charge of his share of the booty to his brother, telling him to give it together with *his ruby* to his wife. After the war, on his return to Dehly, the soldier learned from his wife that she had never seen the ruby. The brother declared he had given it to her, and the parties were brought up before the Kazy Meean Bhoory. The Judge asked the man who had quitted the service, who saw him give the ruby to his brother's wife? he replied, several persons knew she had it, and he produced some brahmins of notoriously bad characters as witnesses, who, having been instructed what to say, gave evidence against the woman, who was told to go home and give the ruby to her husband. Owing to the ill treatment she received at home, she determined to lay her case before the King in person. He listened very attentively to the whole story, and then sending for the witnesses, all the parties acknowledged that they re-

collected perfectly the shape and size of the ruby given to the soldier's wife: a piece of wax was accordingly given to each witness, and being separated, they were directed to make models of the gem. Those of the two brothers corresponded; but the models of the witnesses being dissimilar, the King concluded they could never have seen it; and having thus convicted them of perjury, they were induced to tell the truth, and the woman's innocence was proved. Sikundur Lody was himself a poet, and highly appreciated literary merit. During his reign many works were composed both in prose and verse; among others, is the Furhung Sikundry, whose author informs us this Prince reigned 28 years and five months.

IBRAHIM LODY AFGHAN.

Ibrahim offends his countrymen by his avowed indifference to them. — The King's brother Julal, governor of Kalpy, proceeds to Joonpoor, and assumes the title of king. — He is defeated, and flies to Gualiar. — Gualiar besieged. — The Raja dies. — Julal flies to Malwa, and eventually to Gondwara, where he is seized, and delivered over to the King. — Julal suffers death. — Gualiar taken. — The Afghan chiefs rebel in several quarters. — The King's cruelty. — All the country east of the Ganges occupied by the son of Duria Khan Lohany, who assumes the title of Mahomed Shah. — Dowlut Khan Lody, governor of Lahore, rebels — invites Babur from Kabul to invade India. — Babur's first attempt, accompanied by Alla-ood-Deen Lody, the King's brother, fails. — Babur invades India in person. — Ibrahim opposes him — is defeated, and slain. — End of the Afghan dynasty.

Sikundur Lody dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim succeeded to the throne. At a very early period, contrary to the custom of his father and grandfather, he made no distinction among his officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and said publicly, that kings should have no relations nor clansmen, but that all should be considered as subjects and servants of the state; and the Afghan chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence, were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them.

A. H. 923. A. D. 1517. Shortly after his accession a conspiracy was formed by the Lody chiefs, by whom it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in quiet possession of Dehly and a few dependent provinces, and to raise the Prince, Julal Khan *, his brother, to the throne at Joonpoor. The Prince, accordingly, marching from Kalpy, in conjunction with the disaffected chiefs, ascended the throne of Joonpoor. He appointed his cousin, Futteh Khan, his vizier, who gained over all the officers of the eastern provinces to his interest. Khan Jehan Lohany was at this time proceeding from Rabery to congratulate Ibrahim on his accession; when falling in with the disaffected nobles, he blamed them severely for causing divisions in the kingdom, which, he said, would be attended with fatal consequences to the family of Lody. The chiefs, admitting the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as the Prince Julal Khan could not be yet well established, to divest him of his newly-assumed dignity; and accordingly they sent Heibut Khan Julwany, with letters, to recall him before he reached Joonpoor. Heibut Khan, however, having overacted his part, the Prince, Julal Khan, suspected some plot, and excused himself from coming. The chiefs, unaware that he suspected them, deputed Sheikh Mahomed Firmully and others to enforce their request; but the Prince proceeded to Joonpoor. Finding all endeavours

* It will be recollected, that this prince was made governor of Kalpy by his father.

to reclaim the Prince had failed, Ibrahim Lody issued a proclamation, declaring every officer who should adhere to his brother the Prince Julal a traitor to the state; at the same time he sent presents and deputations to all his principal officers, which had the effect of detaching the nobles from the pretender, and by degrees bringing them over to the King's interest. The affairs of the Prince rapidly declining, he conceived that nothing but desperate measures could retrieve them. Accordingly he marched to Kalpy, and placing his family in security in that fort, he collected all his troops, and assumed the title of King, under the title of Julal-ood-Deen. At the same time, he sent a trusty person to Azim Hoomayoon, who was at the time besieging Kalunjur, to join him. Azim Hoomayoon did so; but recommended the Prince, in the first instance, to establish himself firmly at Joonpoor. The Prince accordingly marched against the son of Moobarik Khan Lody, governor of Oude, and compelled him to retreat to Luknow.

Ibrahim Lody, hearing of these proceedings, marched his army to that quarter, and confined his other brothers in the fort of Hansy, where they remained for life. This event took place on Thursday the 24th of Zeehuj, A. H. 923. On his march towards Oude, the King was informed that Azim Hoomayoon, having deserted the Prince Julal, was now on his way to join him, on which the King sent some chiefs to escort him to his camp, where he was favourably received. A

Zeehuj 24. A. H. 923. February 6. A. D. 1518.

number of other officers also joined Ibrahim, and he despatched the greatest part of his army, under the command of Azim Hoomayoon Lody *, against the Prince. But before the King's troops could come up with him, he threw a garrison into Kalpy, and marched with 30,000 chosen horse, by forced marches, to Agra, while Azim Hoomayoon Lody was content to lay siege to Kalpy. Julal Khan had it now in his power either to take possession of Agra, or to plunder the treasury; but the governor, Adam Khan, in order to save the place and the country, entered into negotiations with the Prince, and went so far as to promise him, on the part of the King, the independent possession of Kalpy, and other advantages, for which he had no authority. Adam Khan sent notice of the whole transaction to Ibrahim; but the King having taken Kalpy, and the treaty having been concluded without his knowledge, he took no notice of it, but marched against the Prince, Julal Khan, who, now deserted by his army, was obliged to fly to Gualiar, and solicit the protection of the raja of that place. Ibrahim Lody came to Agra, where he remained in order to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of his father, had fallen into disorder. Two nobles, Kurreem Dad Toork, and Dowlut Khan, were sent to take charge of Dehly, and Sheikhzada Mahomed Fir-

* It is necessary to keep in mind the distinction between Azim Hoomayoon Lody and Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany.

mully was deputed to Chundery, to remain with Mahomed Khan, the Prince of Malwa.

About this time the King, without assigning any reason, caused Meean Bhoory, formerly vizier to his father Sikundur Lody, to be put in chains, conferring at the same time great honours on his son. The Prince, Julal Khan, found refuge in Gualiar, and it was deemed necessary, therefore, to attack that fortress; for which purpose Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany marched from Kurra with 30,000 horse, and 300 elephants; and seven other chiefs, with armies, were also sent to join in the siege. The Prince, Julal Khan, despairing of holding out with success, fled to the court of Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Malwa. The Dehly army, arriving before Gualiar, invested the place, and, in a few days, Raja Man-Sing, a prince of great valour and capacity, dying, his son Vikramajeet succeeded him. After the siege had been carried on for some months, the army of Ibrahim Lody at length got possession of an outwork at the foot of the hill, on which stood the fort of Badilgur. They found in that place a brazen bull, which had been for a long time an object of worship, and sent it to Agra, from whence it was afterwards conveyed to Dehly, and thrown down before the Bagdad gate.

A.H. 924. A.D. 1518.

The Prince, Julal Khan, not being well received by Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, fled to the Raja of Gurrakota; but being intercepted on the road by a body of Gonds *, he was sent prisoner to the

* The inhabitants of the country called Gondwara.

King's camp. Ibrahim Lody sent him to Hansy, but gave private orders for his assassination on the road. What charms can there be in power, which can induce a man to shed the blood of his own brother? Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with the death of his brother Julal alone, he also imbrued his hands in the blood of several of his officers at the same time. Having recalled Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany from the siege of Gualiar, when just on the point of taking the place, he imprisoned him, and his son Futteh Khan, and also removed his other son, Islam Khan, from the government of Kurra. Islam Khan, hearing of the fate of his father and brother, and of the disgrace reserved for himself, rebelled, and defeated Ahmud Khan, who was sent to assume his government. The King now receiving advices of the reduction of Gualiar, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn his thoughts towards the insurrection at Kurra. Azim Hoomayoon and Syeed Khan, after the fall of Gualiar, were permitted to go to their jageers, from whence, uniting with Islam Khan, they added strength to his power. Ibrahim Lody, placing little dependence on the fidelity of the troops about his person, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his camp; and conferring great honours on Ahmud Khan, the brother of Azim Hoomayoon Lody, gave him the command of the army against Islam Khan. Ahmud Khan, having reached the vicinity of Kunowj, was attacked

by Yekbal Khan, a dependent of Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany, who, rushing out from an ambuscade with 5000 horse, cut off a number of the royal troops, and made good his retreat. The King was greatly exasperated against Ahmud Khan, on receiving intelligence of this defeat, and wrote to him not to expect his favour, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels, at the same time he sent another detachment of troops to his support. The army of the insurgents now amounted to 40,000 cavalry, 500 elephants, and a large body of infantry, with which they proceeded to oppose the royalists under Ahmud Khan. The two armies came in sight of each other, but did not engage; for Sheikh Rajoo Bokhary, a holy man, highly esteemed in that age, was in hopes of bringing affairs to an accommodation. Overtures being made, the insurgents agreed to disband their troops the moment that Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany should be set at liberty. The King, however, refusing to accede to these terms, sent orders to Duria Khan Lohany, governor of Behar, to Nuseer Khan Lohany, the collector of Ghazypoor, and to Sheikhzada Mahomed Firmully, the governor of Oude, to advance against the rebels, who very imprudently permitted themselves to be amused till these armies united, when they were compelled either to fly or to fight on unequal terms. They resolved on the latter alternative, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged by despair, they fought bravely, and were on the point of defeating the royalists,

A. H. 925.
A. D. 1519.

when Islam Khan was killed, and Syeed Khan taken prisoner. These untoward incidents discouraging their followers, they fled in every direction, and all the treasure and baggage of the insurgents fell into the hands of the King's troops. Ibrahim Lody now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the nobles of Sikundur Lody's reign, many of whom suffered death. Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany, Meean Boohry, and others, who were in confinement, were at the same time privately executed. These proceedings creating distrust among the nobles, Duria Khan Lohany, governor of Behar, Khan Jehan Lody, Hoossein Khan Firmully, and many other chiefs, went into open rebellion. The King, receiving intelligence of this defection, sent a private order to some holy men of Chundery to cut off Hoossein Khan Firmully; and he was accordingly assassinated in his bed. This fresh instance of Ibrahim's treachery and cruelty tended only to make him more enemies. Duria Khan Lohany, governor of Behar, dying about this time, his son, Bahadur Khan, assumed the title of King, under the title of Mahomed Shah. He was joined by most of the discontented chiefs in that vicinity, and soon found himself at the head of 100,000 horse, with which he took possession of all the country as far as Sumbhul, defeating the Dehly troops in repeated engagements. Meanwhile, Ghazy Khan Lody came with the army from Lahore; but having heard of the King's proceedings on the way, he became apprehensive of treachery, and returned to his father, Dowlut Khan

Lody, at Lahore. Dowlut Khan, seeing no safety for his family, revolted from the King, and solicited Babur, the Mogul prince who then reigned in Kabul, to attempt the conquest of Hindoostan. The invasion of Babur was preceded by the arrival in India of the Prince Alla-ood-Deen, who had fled from his brother Ibrahim Lody, and was then residing at Kabul. Dowlut Khan supporting him, as a cloak to his own plans, reduced all the country as far south as Dehly; and the Prince Alla-ood-Deen being joined by many officers of distinction, he found himself at the head of an army of 40,000 horse, with which he proceeded to invest Dehly.

Ibrahim resolved to oppose him; but when within six coss (twelve miles) of the Prince's army, Ibrahim's camp was surprised in the night, and, after a tumultuous conflict which lasted till daylight, Ibrahim found himself deserted by most of his officers, who joined Alla-ood-Deen. Observing, however, in the morning, that the troops of Alla-ood-Deen were dispersed in plundering, Ibrahim rallied his soldiers, and, collecting the greater part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and expelled his brother and rival from the field with considerable slaughter. Ibrahim now entered Dehly in triumph; and the Prince Alla-ood-Deen, seeing no hopes of reducing the place, retreated to the Punjab.

A. H. 932. A. D. 1526. Affairs remained in this state till the year 932, when Zuheer-ood-Deen Mahomed Babur marched against Ibrahim Lody, as will be hereafter shown; and a san-

guinary battle was fought between these two kings on the plain of Paniput, where Babur was victorious, and Ibrahim lost his life; an event which transferred the empire of Dehly and Agra to the family of Teimoor. The reign of Ibrahim Lody lasted twenty years.

ROYAL ASIATIC

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